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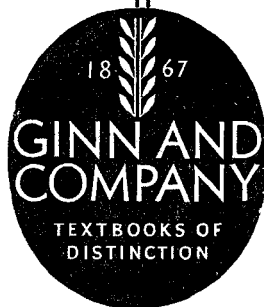


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European Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century*

DAVID HARRIS

EUROPE has had an ancient tradition of dreams dreamed and deeds done in the name of human freedom. In the eighteenth century there arose in diverse parts of the continent a demand of unparalleled insistence for still more of the boons of freedom. Alas, however, for human plans; when in 1789 the opportunity came to build the new Zion with the precious stones of liberty, the builders in Paris went down in discredit and carried with them, seemingly, the repute of their great ideal. Ruined once by its mistakes, liberty in France suffered a second disaster in 1799 at the hands of a military adventurer.

A whole company of literary men exorcised the ghost of this departed horror, but with all their pages they could not write a lasting epitaph. By 1814 the people of France had become aware of the price they had paid for Corsican glory, and it was Bonaparte's own creatures, his senators, who deposed him for his despotic doings and who tried to exact a sworn constitution from the aged wanderer who was then on his way to Paris as the eighteenth

*A paper presented to the American Historical Association in Chicago on December 28, 1953.

Louis. The new sovereign could not readily negotiate with a Napoleonic legislature on what God had already decreed, but no one saw more clearly than did this exile-weary Bourbon the impossibility of turning back the calendar to the epoch of divine right despotism. In May of 1814 he announced that he would give his people what he termed a liberal constitution and shortly thereafter he issued the charter which had its source in his royal pleasure.¹ Within the next six years, despite the rigors of the reaction, constitutionalism achieved a series of victories—in the Netherlands, in Poland, and in several of the German states.²

Louis XVIII's charter and these kindred constitutions represented the perpetuated gains of the revolutionary epoch, the level reached after the up of the excesses and the down of the reactions which had been in process since 1789. They represented, no less, the point of departure for subsequent change, and have, therefore, a not unimportant part in the history of nineteenth-century liberalism. Indeed, these constitutions are of such significance that one perhaps may speak of the years following 1814 as the period of liberalism by princely grace.

For one reason, these instruments, with a single exception, gave guaranties of substantial individual rights. The ideal of 1789 still in 1814 embodied a living force that could not be denied. First and foremost were those two equalities without which any pretense toward modern liberty would have been a mockery—equality in the presence of the tax collector and equality before the judge and his books of law. There were, in addition, assurances that the individual would enjoy strictly regular processes at the hands of an independent judiciary, and that his property would be safe from the hand of royal caprice. Finally, the individual received a pledge that there would be no restraint on his conscience, that the exercise of his religion would be undisturbed, and that freedom of the press would be abridged only by laws to prevent abuse.

¹ The essential documents are given in France, Conseil d'Etat, *Collection complète des lois, décrets, ordonnances, règlements, avis du conseil d'état* . . . par J. B. Duvergier, XIX, *passim*. Hereafter cited as Duvergier.

² The constitutions under reference may be found in Great Britain, Foreign Office, *British and Foreign State Papers*, as follows: (1) The Netherlands, III, 16-43; (2) Poland, XIX, 971-85; (3) Bavaria, V, 1055-76; (4) Baden, V, 161-70; (5) Württemberg, VI, 102-30; (6) Hesse-Darmstadt, VII, 386-99. Article XIII of the Constitution of the German Confederation of 1815 prescribed that each state would have an "estates constitution" (*landesständische Verfassung*) (*ibid.*, II, 128). Among the princes of German states who issued fundamental laws more in harmony with the estates concept than did the rulers of the above cited states were those of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, *ibid.*, III, 842-71; Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt, III, 747-48; Schaumburg-Lippe, III, 749-51; Waldeck, III, 751-63; Hanover, VI, 1130-33. The king of Prussia anticipated the decision of the Confederation to the extent of announcing on May 25, 1815, his intention of preparing a constitutional act and of establishing a representative assembly (*ibid.*, II, 1057-60), but he could take himself no further along the constitutional road than the organization of a council of state in 1817. The text of the instituting decree may be found in *ibid.*, IV, 791-99.

A further reason for suggesting the phrase "liberalism by princely grace" lies in the fact that there were in these constitutions two other renunciations of royal authority: henceforth no tax was to be collected and no law inscribed on the statute book without the consent of a legislative body. By such concessions there disappeared—at least on paper—those two powers which lay at the base of the absolutism of the Old Regime.

At the same time, there was another side to this newly minted royal coin. Louis XVIII was quite explicit in asserting that the plenitude of authority in France rested in the person of the king. In his proud words was a complete denial of a right belonging to the people, and with it a disquieting implication that what the king's grace had given the king's grace could take away. In substance the same theory presided over the other constitutions. Over and beyond this issue of theory was the fact of great daily significance—the predominant role which the sovereign retained for himself in his absolute veto and in his right of legislative initiative, and, too, in his periodic flaunting of self-imposed limitations.

The legislatures prescribed in these constitutions were typically bicameral. The upper house was a house of privilege in which men sat by right of noble birth, ecclesiastical office, or royal appointment. The lower house was either based on a geographic representation, as in France, or on some adaptation of the old estates system.³ But whichever way the chamber was recruited, three devices made it certain that the deputies would bear no stain of the unhallowed procedures of 1792: first, a set of qualifications for voting which, in somewhat varying degrees, excluded the economically less fortunate; second, a scheme of indirect elections; and, finally, a still more exacting set of qualifications for the deputy. In substance these devices assured that men of maturity and property elected men of still more maturity and of still more property. As was the case in the estates assemblies of the Middle Ages, the sovereign consulted, not with his people, but with the possessors of rural and urban wealth.

At best, then, liberalism by princely grace was a meager compromise with modernity. It was, none the less, gravid with significance. The concession of personal rights and liberties revived for the Continent some of the breath of those winds of freedom which had blown so fiercely during the French Revolution. The limitation on royal taxing and legislative power had its modern as well as its medieval aspects. The restoration of assemblies, semi-

³ In the Netherlands members of the lower house were named by the provincial assemblies. In Poland a majority was chosen by the noble dietines and a minority by the communes. In Bavaria five separate categories were represented, in Württemberg six, and in Hesse-Darmstadt three.

estate in character though they were, at least brought several continental countries along the political road already traversed by the English.

In 1820 more advanced ideas of liberalism announced themselves from below the level of princely grace. The Spaniards, wearied with one of the most obscene governments of all Europe, restored their constitution of 1812 with its basic principle of the sovereignty of the nation, and the noise of their revolt returned sympathetic echoes from Portugal and the Italian peninsula where life was hardly better.⁴ The time was not ripe, however, for inexperienced liberals to fumble with their destiny, and armed force effectively restored what was called order.⁵

The real beginning of the new chapter of liberalism's history had to wait until 1830. Its opening pages were written in France. When the crisis came in July, it was the republicans of Paris who, more than anyone else, sent the former count of Artois on his second road to exile; but in the final showdown a group of less doctrinaire deputies had greater political strength and it was they who put the imprint of their ideas on a revision of the charter. Formally, this revision was nothing more than a modest legislative retouching of the text of 1814, but the cumulative effect of the changes added up to a substantial modification of the constitutional structure of France.⁶

Meanwhile the first response from abroad had come from Brussels. In Belgium French influences had already been inculcating their lessons of liberty and, given the signal from the July revolution, self-styled liberals and Catholics joined forces to declare their national independence and draw up a constitution.⁷ So fully did this Belgian constitution of 1831 epitomize the main currents of liberal opinion in Europe that for half a century and more it enjoyed high prestige as a masterpiece of political wisdom and its provisions steadily made their way into other constitutional experiments.

In Great Britain the happy tidings from Paris created no upheaval, but they did give a new inspiration to the agitation for reform. It was an old habit for malcontents of the Continent to look across the haze of the Channel and see in England the home of liberty. In truth, the English had so far

⁴ For the text of the constitution signed at Cadiz in 1812 see *State Papers*, VII, 237-79. The Portuguese cortes on March 9, 1821, decreed the bases of a new constitution (*ibid.*, VIII, 973-77), and the definitive text was promulgated on September 23, 1822 (*ibid.*, IX, 921-59).

⁵ For a convenient collection of the principal documents relative to the conferences of Troppau and Laybach of 1820-21 and the suppression of the constitutional movement in Naples see *State Papers*, VIII, 1129-1206. For the conference of Verona and the decision to suppress the Spanish difficulties see *ibid.*, X, 909-36. On June 25, 1823, the king of Portugal issued a proclamation annulling the constitution and appointing a junta to prepare a new constitutional draft (*ibid.*, XI, 852-53).

⁶ Duvergier, XXX, 93-103; 110-14; *State Papers*, XVII, 1009-13, 1013-18.

⁷ For the text of the Belgian constitution as voted by the national congress on February 7, 1831, see *State Papers*, XVIII, 1052-65.

preceded the continentals that issues which preoccupied the latter after 1814 had long since been settled. Yet, despite this historical advantage, the crystallization of the estates system had produced in England an issue which was the basic issue of the Continent as well. That was, of course, a reasonable share of political power for the middle class. On this point the two liberalisms converged in time and problem. The British counterpart of the continental troubles, the great Reform Bill of 1832, averted rather than accomplished a revolution. An alliance between landed and city wealth was an old fact of English history; the new bill simply brought it up to date by effecting a more acceptable division of political power.

These political changes in France and Belgium and Britain between 1830 and 1832 charted the main direction of liberal hopes in other lands during the years that followed. Since they represented the program of a liberalism sufficiently victorious to give practical effect to its major objectives, they established the new benchmarks in the political terrain beyond the realms of princely grace.

With respect to the control of the state, there was at least a hint of a dilemma in the liberals' position. The old suspicions of the state which went back to Seneca and Augustine had found more than vindication at the hands of John Locke and his rationalist successors, and their children of the new generation were not without the family trait. On the other hand, there was a mundane consideration which also had an imposing history. Harrington had pointed it out back in the seventeenth century: that the possessors of economic power are not content until they gain political power commensurate with it. For all of the aura of dubiety about the state—indeed, on account of it—the state was a reality worth a great deal of effort to influence and to control.

None the less, the liberals of the first half of the nineteenth century did not desire to push forward to a complete mastery of the state: being moderates, they were prepared to leave old elements of privilege. Still, the share which they demanded for the middle class was materially greater than that allowed by the charters handed down from sovereign thrones.

The first victorious act of the continental liberals, following the precedent of England, was to settle their case against the undue pretensions of royal authority—without destroying monarchy. In France King Louis Philippe had to proclaim his dependence on the national will,⁸ and the constitution of

⁸ Because of the delicacy of the crisis in July and August, 1830, it was essential to proceed tactfully with the revision of the charter. The declaration of the chamber, adhered to by the peers, disposed of the theoretical issue of sovereignty in these words: "Selon le vœu et dans l'intérêt du peuple français, le préambule de la Charte constitutionnelle est supprimé, comme blessant la dignité nationale, en paraissant octroyer aux Français des droits qui leur appartiennent."

Belgium was most precise in its theoretical and practical curbs on kingly power.⁹

The great positive achievement of the liberalism of these years was to build up the strength of the lower legislative house. Bicameralism remained, but the place of the nobility in the body politic suffered a new reverse. In Belgium an elected bourgeois senate, in France a house of peers in which nobility had a declining role, in Britain a house of lords under notice that it must bow to the will of the nation—in such developments was eloquent proof that the liberals were attacking the custom-grounded pre-eminence of the noble estate.

The dissatisfaction with which the middle rungs of the social ladder looked upward did not prevent their turning to look downward with even less friendly eyes. These men of the middle, and their fathers before them, had once read earnest lessons about people being born and remaining free and equal in rights. But now those days were gone. The memory of revolutionary experience, the more recent evidences of proletarian unrest, the disposition of the successful to see moral failure in a humble station in life—all these considerations afforded grounds enough to deny the lesser orders of mankind a share in the great prize of political power. The upshot was that liberalism pronounced against political democracy; control of the state remained the privilege of men of property.¹⁰

With respect to what the state should do, a movement dedicated by tradition and by conviction to liberty had naturally a marked prejudice, if not an entirely clear principle or program. And that was, manifestly, that the state should do nothing more than the minimum required by some vaguely defined social necessity.

To keep government within the bounds of common sense, the liberals pinned their hopes to two devices. The first was a scheme to make the machinery incapable of quick or efficient action. Recalling the old tyrannies of

nent essentiellement" (Duvergier, XXX, 94-95). In his act of August 9 Louis Philippe said, "J'accepte, sans restrictions ni réserve, les clauses et engagements que renferme cette déclaration et le titre du Roi des Français qu'elle me confère, et je suis prêt à en jurer l'observation" (*ibid.*, XXX, 104).

⁹ Article 3 of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen in 1789 states, "Le principe de toute souveraineté réside essentiellement dans la nation." The Spanish constitution of 1812 took the sentence in this form: "La soberanía reside esencialmente en la nación" (Title I, chap. 1) and the Portuguese document of 1822 repeated it (Title II, art. xxvi). The declaration of the French chamber in 1830, as indicated in the preceding note, repeated the adverb *essentiellement*. The Belgian constitution-makers dropped the adverb as an unwarranted equivocation: "All powers emanate from the nation . . ." (Title III, art. xxv).

¹⁰ For the text of the French election law, April 19, 1831, see Duvergier, XXXI, 177-219. This law raised the number of voters from about 94,000 to about 188,000. In Belgium the more generous suffrage qualifications were determined variably from province to province. The Reform Bill of 1832 increased the number of British voters from about half a million to slightly more than 800,000.

royal despotism and the later tyrannies of the mob spirit, these twice-bitten men wished, as the abbé Sieyès said, to quench the fires of Rousseau's popular sovereignty by the waters of Montesquieu's separation of powers. The European constitutions, following the American adoption of the old principle, effected therefore a distinction between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. In their prescriptions of bicameralism they also hoped to insure a check on hasty legislation. None the less, while an independent judiciary retained its position, very shortly the newer principle of ministerial responsibility so undermined the old that the separation of powers as a part of the credo of European liberalism was gradually pushed off into limbo.¹¹

The second, and far more important, device for restraining government was, of course, the confirmation and the amplification of the bill of individual rights which the restored sovereigns had already rescued from the wreckage of the French Revolution. By its prescriptions *all* men, in their persons and in their property, were to be secured against tyranny; *all* men were to be free to think and to believe and, within limits, to write as they wished.

When one moves on into the story of the role which these early liberals assigned to the state in relation to economic enterprise, one point stands out in all clarity: the protection of property from foreign aggression, from state encroachments, from the disorders of the mob, and from the tricks of rascality. Among these last, the refusal to honor a contract was of prime and horrifying significance, since contract made the difference, so thoughtful men believed, between order and chaos.

In such unquestioned necessities there was a large and, unhappily for the liberal, an expensive role for the state—that of the self-denying night-watchman. In a positive work of facilitating economic enterprise, the stopping point of state action was not so readily established. For such things as a stable currency and the improvement of roads and harbors there was soon no serious opposition, but a fairly general liberal rejection of protective tariffs came slowly, and policy toward the new railways ranged from British private enterprise to Belgian state operation.

None the less, the prevalent theory, and increasingly the practice, left a wide latitude to the self-interest of economic man. Under its inspiration

¹¹ Benjamin Constant (Henri Benjamin Constant de Rebecque) offered an ingenious argument in support of a system of five powers (*Cours de politique constitutionnelle* [Paris, 1818–20], I, *passim*). François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, *Histoire des origines du gouvernement représentatif et des institutions politiques de l'Europe* (Paris, 1855), translated as *History of the Origin of Representative Government in Europe* (London, 1861): "Il faut qu'il y ait plusieurs pouvoirs égaux et indispensables l'un à l'autre, dans l'exercice de la souveraineté de fait, pour qu'aucun d'eux ne soit conduit à s'arroger la souveraineté de droit" (I, 122). Charles Edward Merriam, Jr., *History of the Theory of Sovereignty since Rousseau* (New York, 1900), chap. v. Jeremy Bentham launched an attack on the doctrine of separation of powers in *Fragment on Government* (1776) reprinted in *Works* . . . ed. Sir John Bowring (Edinburgh, 1838–43), I, part 1.

legislatures poured out a veritable stream of acts which removed qualifications from property rights,¹² extended freedom of contract, and struck ancient shackles from commerce and industry and finance. Before the middle of the century, the social consequences of industrialization were beginning to creep from England to the Continent, there also to raise grim questions of policy; but the rank and file of the liberals, genuinely humanitarian though they were, found it hard to reconcile themselves to state regulation. Inescapably there had to be a great deal of confusion when Europe faced problems hitherto undreamed of, and, quite apart from a powerful economic theory, there could only have been much doubt as to the ability of state agencies, given their notoriously bad history, to do an effective social service.

The practical applications of this ideal of liberty, however, betrayed an inner contradiction, an inherent conflict of purposes. The constitutional and legislative enactments bestowed rights on all men without distinction of birth or fortune. Likewise the principles of the inviolability of private property, liberty of individual enterprise, and freedom of contract vouchsafed blessings to all men equally.

But, as these doctrines worked out in daily practice, they created disparities in wealth and position which boded ill for any morally rooted concept of freedom. The high regard for property rested on the old conviction that property was essential for the full achievement of the human personality. Something was wrong, therefore—as Thomas Jefferson saw¹³—when many men had no property. Something was wrong, too, for the prospects of human personality when freedom sent the penniless factory worker to negotiate single-handed a contract with an owner, or the landless peasant to deal with a great proprietor. These pregnant years of the first half of the century were demonstrating that seemingly inescapable paradox of man's finite destiny which decrees that a liberty which is not within hailing distance of equality is not really a human liberty. It is, rather, a citadel of privilege, something alien to the birthright of all men as envisaged in Jefferson's Declaration of Independence and in the French proclamation of the Rights of Man.

When political privilege was added to the economic, the citadel was complete.

The citadel, however, rested on precarious foundations. There was hardly any man so libertarian that he was prepared to deny a paramount claim of society. In the realm of economic enterprise and, too, in the realms of intellec-

¹² For a discussion of the increased freedom of property in England see Albert V. Dicey, *Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1905), pp. 200 ff.

¹³ Jefferson to the Rev. James Madison, Fontainebleau, Oct. 28, 1785, Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, 1950—), VIII, 682.

tual and spiritual enterprise, the ends of society could be achieved in one of two ways. The most direct was by means of social controls. The liberals rejected this alternative in favor of a wide latitude of individual freedom. But, caught in their commitment to social primacy, they could do so only on one logical condition: that, by some alchemy of the nature of things, there presided over free individual activities a benignant and harmonizing force which served the high claims of social justice. In a very literal sense, therefore, the liberalism of the first half of the century was nailing its case for freedom, for the full realization of the potentialities of the individual personality, to the future fortunes of capitalism.

It was difficult to provide a systematic justification for the position taken by these early liberals. An overt appeal to the heady doctrines of Natural Law was hardly feasible. Only a few were aware of how David Hume had used his scalpel,¹⁴ and Jeremy Bentham his brass knuckles,¹⁵ on that ancient mode of thought, but many were well aware, since the French Revolution, that Natural Law contained a far more dangerous set of axioms than the purposes of liberalism needed.

Nor was there much greater security in the utilitarianism preached by the genial sage of Ford Abbey. Bentham's ponderous writings also went too far. They were good for criticizing an outworn order, and they gave the liberals much needed help with their economic problems, but, when pushed by logic, Benthamism produced not liberals but radicals, radicals who were disposed at times to turn their syllogisms against the liberal order as well as against the old. Bentham himself demonstrated the radical potentialities of his method; he allowed his reasoning to lead him into democracy and republicanism and, no less to the consternation of the liberals, he impatiently laid down the thesis that there was no assignable boundary to the sovereign power of the state.¹⁶

Liberalism, therefore, had to feed on a different kind of meat. In England it was not bad form to go in for fairly systematic thinking about economics, but in politics it seemed safer to respect what was popularly considered the national distrust of an abstract proposition. In France the liberals were content—were, rather, compelled—to go through the motions of philosophizing while dodging the basic problems of political philosophy.¹⁷

¹⁴ In *Treatise of Human Nature*, first published in 1739–40.

¹⁵ In *Anarchical Fallacies: A Critical Examination of the Declaration of Rights*, written about 1791, in *Works*, II, part 2, pp. 489–534.

¹⁶ For the development of Bentham's radicalism see Elie Halévy, *The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism* (New York, 1928), pp. 254–65, 415, and *passim*; Leslie Stephen, *The English Utilitarians* (New York and London, 1900), I, chap. vi.

¹⁷ For further discussion see Roger Soltau, *French Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, 1931), introduction, chaps. I, III; Guido de Ruggiero, *The History of European*

But however deficient this early liberalism was in a sound philosophic foundation, it was not wanting in uncritically embraced assumptions. To name some of them is to see the trick played upon itself by a professedly antimetaphysical generation: the belief in an abstract individual who stood in antithesis to the state, the sanctification of private property to the point that no liberal, or even Benthamite, was willing to subject it to the test of social utility, and, finally, the assurance that the selfish activities of atomistic individuals would, under that invisible hand celebrated by Adam Smith, add up to a maximum social benefaction. These foundation assumptions, one need hardly point out, were simply old Natural Law concepts carried over bag and baggage into the new century. For the time being, however, a philosophic inadequacy lay obscured behind material and political success.

In 1848 there burst over Europe a new revolutionary fury. For a fleeting moment many a liberal glimpsed a day of new triumphs, but only for a fleeting moment. That frenzied year was compounded of a variety of suddenly unleashed forces and they served notice, at times in brutal language, that the future did not necessarily belong to liberalism. Yet, for all the power of upsurging competitors, and for all the triumphs of the old order, liberalism defied the current epitaphs and went on to the period of its greatest victories. If liberalism after 1848 was living on borrowed time, it made good use of the loan. Liberalism in the first half of the century had been more a state of mind, a set of impulses, than the doctrine of a single political party. Gradually parties took shape which claimed to act as the special custodians of the credo and their services to the cause were great. Theirs, however, were by no means the only services rendered. The whole work of the great day of liberalism was not a monopoly product of party spirit, but the effect rather of a pervasive flow of conviction.

After 1848, as after 1814, the triumphs of reaction did not entail a complete turning back of the clock. In Italy the *statuto* of Piedmont-Sardinia remained in force;¹⁸ in Prussia a king who had recently advanced strong religious reasons for his despotism felt obliged to refashion a revolutionary document into a constitution emanating from his sovereign grace,¹⁹ and his successor in 1867 accepted as a matter of course a written instrument for the

Liberalism (London, 1927), pp. 158-73. Henry Michel, *L'idée de l'état* (Paris, 1896), p. 291: "Les Doctrinaires sont pauvres de doctrine, ou, si l'on aime mieux, leur doctrine consiste tout entière à expliquer, à justifier certains états de fait."

¹⁸ An English translation by S. M. Lindsay and Leo S. Rowe may be found in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, supplement to Vol. V (1894-95).

¹⁹ For the text temporarily accepted by the king of Prussia on December 5, 1848, see *State Papers*, XXXVII, 1378-90, and for the text of January 31, 1850, *ibid.*, XXXIX, 1025-39. A translation and commentary on the latter document by James Harvey Robinson may be found in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, supplement to Vol. V.

North German Confederation, a document which, with slight modification, became the constitution of the German empire in 1871.²⁰ In the Habsburg dominions new attempts at personal rule broke down and the *Ausgleich* of 1867 was a victory for constitutionalism as well as for Hungarian national feeling.²¹ This successful pressure went on until finally, before 1914, there was no state in Europe without some formalized procedures of calculable government. These gains, of course, had their uneven qualities when measured against the liberal ideal; at the same time, the continuing direction of European political development was seemingly beyond all doubt.

A signal feature of this heyday of liberalism was a great expansion of individual liberties. Not all police interference was confined, by any means, to Russia, but generally in Europe one individual freedom after another gained formal recognition and became more solidly embedded in social practice.

Among the freedoms most cherished by liberalism was that of religion. This zeal for an unrestrained right to worship as the individual saw fit, plus the inherently secular cast of liberal thought, precipitated serious conflicts with ecclesiastical authorities in the second half of the century. A perhaps inescapable series of clashes with Catholicism was made all the more certain by the determination of Pope Pius IX to strengthen the ultramontane forces within his spiritual dominion. Liberalism's response was a further reduction of church influence, state appropriation of ancient ecclesiastical functions, and denunciations of concordats by which earlier popes had hoped to tighten the bond between crown and altar. In Great Britain the tendency of legislation was in the same direction: disestablishment in Ireland, termination of the Anglican monopoly at Oxford and Cambridge, and progressive emancipation from various forms of religious disability.

As for economic liberty, the steady march of freedom in international trade from Huskisson's enactments, through the repeal of the Corn Laws and the Cobden-Chevalier treaty, on to imperial Germany's first economic legislation, is an oft-told tale. Equally representative of the strong current of liberalism was the victory of freedom in domestic enterprise. Nowhere was this conquest of a free economy more sweeping than in Germany. On top of administrative reforms and the rigorous application of the principles of the *Rechtsstaat*,²² German capitalism received independence so readily and so

²⁰ For the constitution of the North German Confederation, 1867, see *State Papers*, LVII, 296-313, and for that of the empire promulgated in 1871, *ibid.*, LXI, 58-76.

²¹ For the text of the "December Constitution" of Austria, December 22, 1867, see Edmund Bernatzik, *Die österreichischen Verfassungsgesetze mit Erläuterungen* (2d ed., Vienna, 1911), pp. 390-453.

²² For an introductory and illuminating discussion of German theories of the relation between the state and the individual from Kant through Jellinek see Ruggiero, part I, chap. III.

generously that its practitioners—unlike their predecessors in England and in France—never felt a driving necessity to win a political victory as a means of achieving economic freedom.

These great accomplishments were all aspects of the question of what the state should and should not do. In these same years after the middle of the century that other basic political question, the control of the state, was equally hammered on the anvil of controversy.

The formalized structure of government as inherited from the first half of the century continued to be a compromise between king, nobles, and the new version of the old third estate. Without launching a direct attack on outward forms, liberalism none the less tended to undermine that equilibrium of forces. Over Europe as a whole liberalism continued to have no doctrinal objection to monarchy. So exceptional was the latest French experiment after 1873 that Mr. H. A. L. Fisher on the eve of 1914 was led to his ill-fortuned surmise that there was no future in Europe for republicanism.²³ Kings, however, were no longer the real issue in the problem of executive authority; the real issue was the adoption of the British device of ministerial responsibility. Where the liberals were sufficiently powerful, they secured it; where they were not, they agitated for it, and in this preoccupation the question of monarchy steadily shriveled to an irrelevancy.

With respect to the nobility, its place also was subject to a continued erosion. In England a great acceleration of the ancient process of elevation to the peerage—so deftly satirized by the wag who spoke of the house of beers—tore away much of the old substance. The final blow, within the framework of bicameralism, came in 1911 when the lords lost their position as a fully co-ordinate legislative power. On the Continent the course of formal institutional growth was different, but the end result was even more drastic for the heirs of feudal privilege. Membership in upper houses became more and more a matter either of election or of appointment, and there were fewer and fewer men who could claim a seat as a right of birth.

While liberalism was chipping away at the privileges embodied in the old compromise, its own system of privilege was suffering attacks from two different directions. When the reactionaries of the Bourbon restoration in France proposed the enfranchisement of the lower classes as a means of swamping the bourgeois liberals,²⁴ they introduced an idea which was not

²³ H. A. L. Fisher, *The Republican Tradition in Europe* (New York and London, 1911), chap. XIII.

²⁴ In 1815 the leading *ultras* of the chambers, at odds with the government of Louis XVIII and critical of the charter, asked for a wider suffrage. Villèle explained as follows: "From the beginning of the world . . . the middle class, envied by the lower and an enemy of the upper, has constituted the revolutionary party in all states. If you wish to have the upper class in your

easily to lose its attraction. In England an alliance of the upper and lower social strata to squeeze the middle was a part of Disraeli's political philosophizings, and on it he acted in pushing through his electoral reform bill of 1867.²⁵ In that same year Bismarck, moved by a variety of considerations, gave the North German Confederation a lower chamber elected by direct universal manhood suffrage.²⁶ In Belgium, the Catholic party, confident of the support of the peasants, voted extensions of the suffrage over the opposition of many of the liberal leaders.²⁷

On the other side of the liberal position, the pressure toward democracy became ever greater, championed as it was by the growing power of radicals and socialists. The dilemma for the liberals was increased by the fact that in times of need—for example in Paris during the crisis of the July Revolution and in Britain during the Reform Bill and Corn Law agitations—they themselves had not been above playing with the democratic fire. It was one thing, however, for the liberals to use the masses, to turn them on and off like a spigot; it was quite another to put the ballot into their hands. In addition to simple social prejudice, practical observations showed some ominous clouds on the horizon. There was danger that the bishops would command the vote of the faithful for their own illiberal purposes, and there was an even more threatening danger that a propertyless majority would lay reckless hand on the rights of property.

Pressure and persuasion, however, were not wholly to be defied, and gradually, hesitatingly liberalism began to move in the direction of political democracy. Yet it could not carry with it the whole body of its adherents. The conversion of Gladstone and the eventual splits of the liberal party in Britain are not unrepresentative of the whole experience of Europe.²⁸

assemblies, have it chosen by the auxiliaries which it has in the lower class, go as far down as you can and thus annul the middle class which alone is the one you have to fear" (S. Charléty, *La Restauration [1815-1830]* [Paris, 1921], p. 98).

²⁵ For brief summaries of Disraeli's political thought see Crane Brinton, *English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), pp. 130-48, and Robert H. Murray, *Studies in the English Social and Political Thinkers of the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1929), I, chap. vi.

²⁶ For a number of years Bismarck had been moving toward the decision of 1867. On the one hand he was increasingly aware of the advantage for Prussia in German politics of an advanced position on suffrage. On the other, he had had more than occasion, since his advent to ministerial power in 1862, to regret the kind of majority which the three-class electoral system had sent to the Prussian Landtag. An astute student of Napoleon III, Bismarck well knew how the latter-day Bonaparte had capitalized universal suffrage for his own purposes. From 1862 to his death in 1864 the socialist Ferdinand Lassalle had pushed the Prussian minister-president toward broad electoral reform.

²⁷ Frans van Kalken, *La Belgique contemporaine (1780-1930): histoire d'une évolution politique* (Paris, 1930), p. 124; Jules Garsou, *Frère-Orban* (Brussels, 1945), pp. 87-105.

²⁸ On May 11, 1864, Gladstone started a routine House of Commons debate by saying, "I venture to say that every man who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness or of political danger is morally entitled to come within the pale of the Con-

A new generation of writers rose up to put their pens at the service of the liberal cause, but the most striking efforts toward a philosophic validation were those of two Englishmen, John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. Mill in his tract *On Liberty* made, most assuredly, one of the world's great pleas for human freedom, yet his attempts to refurbish Benthamite utilitarianism left his cause lost in philosophic confusion. For all of his sympathetic open-mindedness, Mill could not go beyond the old assumption that there was a fundamental antagonism between the individual and the state. Herbert Spencer tried to lodge the same proposition in the ineluctable laws of science, but the more he elaborated his system the more he turned out to be a Procrustes who hacked in vain on the intellectual child of his own procreation. It was soon apparent that science was to be no more successful in finding one voice for the discussion of politics than religion had been.

Despite this continued poverty of theory, liberalism in the second half of the century accomplished a multitudinous work. Yet the high period of achievement lasted but a brief moment. Already in 1872 Disraeli likened the liberal government bench at Westminster to a range of exhausted volcanoes.²⁹ One may discount the hyperbole of a political novelist in opposition, but there was percipience in his analogy. The great Gladstone ministry came to a weary end in 1874 and could not repeat its triumphs in 1880. In 1879 the recently victorious liberal republicans in France came under Clemenceau's schismatic criticisms for excessive compromise. Equally in 1879 the national liberals in Germany were losing out and their colleagues in Austria, tarred like certain liberals in other countries by the crash of 1873, were falling into disrepute. Sterility and confusion were spreading over liberal Italy and comparable symptoms of malady showed themselves elsewhere. The old liberal ideas seemed to be losing their force and the liberal parties were breaking into discordant factions.

stitution" (Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 3d Ser., CLXXV, 324). John Morley, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone* (London, 1905), I, 759-65. One of his most irreconcilable colleagues in the liberal party was Robert Lowe, later Lord Sherbrooke. In the spring of 1866, during a new debate on suffrage extension, Lowe made a notorious attack on the idea of working-class suffrage, in which he said, among other things, "If you want venality, if you want ignorance, if you want drunkenness, and facility for being intimidated; or if, on the other hand, you want impulsive, unreflecting, and violent people, where do you look for them in the constituencies? Do you go to the top or to the bottom? . . ." (*ibid.*, 3d Ser., CLXXXII, 147-48). In France there appeared in the writings of Charles Renouvier and Emile Littré a hope to have a bourgeois pre-eminence within the framework of universal manhood suffrage. For an introductory exposition and a useful bibliography see John A. Scott, *Republican Ideas and the Liberal Tradition in France, 1870-1914* (New York, 1951), pp. 47-115. Emile Faguet belonged to the liberals who refused to make their peace with democracy. See his *Le libéralisme* (Paris, 1902), *Culte de l'incompétence* (Paris, 1910; English ed., London, 1911), and *L'horreur des responsabilités* (Paris, 1911; English ed., New York, 1914).

²⁹ William Flavelle Monypenny and George Earle Buckle, *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli Earl of Beaconsfield* (New York, 1929), II, 530-31.

The difficulties were of two kinds: crises within liberalism itself, and external blows from both the left and the right.

One of the great internal crises of later nineteenth-century liberalism has already been suggested: the debate on political democracy. The second was over the vexing question of what to do next. So much had been done within the old framework that the movement showed signs of reflecting John Bright's outlook when, in 1873, he said that the great causes to which he had devoted his public life had been brought to fruition.³⁰ A revival of energy required a new liberal principle, and a new liberal principle depended on a new analysis of the relation between individual liberty and the state, that problem on which Mill and Spencer had produced nothing new.

The crucial decision had eventually to be made on whether something should be done by the state about the social consequences of industrialization, the old question first raised by nonliberal humanitarians earlier in the century. Some liberals had found in the iron law of wages an argument against intervention; some had been torn in mind and spirit over the issue; but the dominant voice of the movement had happily assured the anxious and the outraged that economic freedom would find the answer. The march of the years, however, did not deal gently with these responses. The logical plausibilities of the iron law of wages persuaded no one to reconcile himself to a marginal existence, and, worse still, the spread of free industry, for all of its miracles, showed no signs of binding the wounds of humanity. The meagerness of the life of the lower orders was revealing all too clearly that the old combination of certain rights for all men and special rights for certain men was not, after all, a harmonious and defensible synthesis. If liberalism was to maintain its concern for the universality of its principles, if it was to rise above the charge of being simply a pig philosophy, it was going to have to follow the nonliberals in a critical assessment of the *laissez-faire* state.

Both in England and in France there was noteworthy thought which helped to clarify and to solve the problem for liberalism. Within its own arsenal there was a weapon that could be put to a new use, and that was Benthamite utility. Stripped of Bentham's own cumbersome rationalizations, the principle raised the simple but searching demand that every institution and every practice should be weighed in terms of a calculable social benefit. William Stanley Jevons invoked it in an important book published in 1882. Jevons proposed to go forward empirically with social questions, assessing the good and the bad of each suggestion as it arose without tenaciously holding onto the old presuppositions against state intervention.³¹ About the same

³⁰ George Macaulay Trevelyan, *The Life of John Bright* (Boston, 1913), pp. 411-15.

³¹ William Stanley Jevons, *The State in Relation to Labour* (3d ed., London, 1894).

time, Thomas Hill Green approached the same set of problems from the point of view of an emerging school of British idealism. Green lodged the right and the necessity of positive state activity in its assistance to the moral self-realization of the individual.³²

In France a wide variety of students gave their attention to this question. Out of their discussions came the doctrine of *solidarité* which, like that of Green, put its emphasis on the inherent dignity and worth of the individual human being. To serve the high purpose of moral individuality, these French thinkers were prepared to place restrictions on, without abolishing as a matter of dogmatic principle, the rights of private property.³³

In so far as it rallied to such considerations, liberalism made a new affirmation of its concern for all men. After Gladstone was gone, the British liberal party became converted to the doctrine of the state as an engine of social betterment, and these same ideas were gaining ground on the Continent when the war came in 1914.³⁴ This reshaping of liberal thought, however, was not easily accomplished. The conception of a positive role of the state won out only at the expense of more divisions within the ranks of liberalism, as in the case of the move toward political democracy. The social group which, a generation and more earlier, had shown a high degree of cohesiveness, was beginning to break up.

This propensity for dissension appeared at the same time in another complex issue of state intervention. Disillusionment with the happy confidence of early liberalism was by no means limited to an acknowledgment of the poor fortunes of the proletariat. Time revealed, and especially the time after 1873, that all was not well with the fortunes of the middle possessing class.

In a period, accordingly, when the state loomed larger and larger as the ark of salvation, it was inescapable that uneasy entrepreneurs should also see in this erstwhile Moloch the instrument of their own redemption. Earlier, when Europe had lived under that regime of state intervention so inaccurately

³² Richard L. Nettleship, ed., *Works of Thomas Hill Green* (London, 1894-1900). "Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation" may be found in Vol. II, and "Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract" in Vol. III. David G. Ritchie, *The Principles of State Interference* (2d ed., London, 1896), chap. iv; John MacCunn, *Six Radical Thinkers* (London, 1907), chap. vi.

³³ Charles Gide and Charles Rist, *History of Economic Doctrines* (New York, n.d.), pp. 587-607; Francis W. Coker, *Recent Political Thought* (New York, 1934), pp. 410-15; Scott, pp. 157-86; Michel, *L'idée de l'état*, pp. 581-622.

³⁴ The principle of the state as an agency of social reform must be distinguished from the proposition that the economically privileged classes should attempt through legislative benefactions to assuage the dissatisfactions of the less fortunate. This latter doctrine was articulated in a rough frankness when Joseph Chamberlain in 1884 and 1885 began to speak of the "ransom" which property would have to pay for its security. Charles W. Boyd, ed., *Mr. Chamberlain's Speeches* (London, 1914), I, 130-39; J. L. Garvin, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain* (London, 1932-51), I, 541-43. A comparable thought appeared in France in the writings of Emile Littré, who wished to undermine the revolutionary nature of the proletariat by a policy of "social conciliation" (Scott, pp. 100-105).

called mercantilism, the “sneaking arts” of the self-regarding pressure group had put an uncountable array of laws on the statute books. In the hard times of the 1870’s and later, the growing practice of turning to the state offered an opportunity which industrialists and landowners could ill afford to overlook.

The whole story of Europe’s abandonment of international free trade and its reversal of colonial policy cannot be told simply as the machinations of capitalists who had lost their nerve. At the same time, the work of the Central Union of German Manufacturers and comparable societies elsewhere leaves no doubt but that, in no small measure, the return to protection and imperialism was state intervention in economic enterprise for the direct benefit of the bourgeoisie.

The raising of these issues meant further splits and defections within the ranks of the liberal parties. In spite of the continued dedication of many liberals to the “sacred principle” of free trade, in spite of hesitations about imperial adventures, liberalism was perforce to some degree driven away from its older outlook, that outlook which had in it the vision of a peaceful world joined together by the bonds of unfettered trade.

While these internal crises were racking liberalism, the movement was suffering from a costly competition. In earlier times, the ancestral set of liberal ideas had engaged in what had been essentially a straight two-sided contest. When, however, the liberals began to search out their position after the French Revolution, they found that they no longer stood face to face with one antagonist; they were, rather, caught between two opponents, one to the left and one to the right. By the fourth quarter of the century, liberalism was beginning to feel keenly the disadvantageous consequences of its middle ground.

The appearance of socialist parties on the left was a somber warning that an awesome number of the proletarians of Europe would not accept the meager role which earlier thought had assigned to them at the bottom of the social scale. An earthy resentment, obviously, inspired these champions of a new social order, but a basic difference between the two movements undoubtedly contributed to the mass trooping of Europe’s proletariat into socialism. Liberalism, born in compromise, and living in compromise, was unable to claim the possession of a rounded system of eternal verities. In contrast, Marx and the children of his spirit labored in the conviction that the universe was unequivocally on the side of the proletariat. This gospel would probably have been heart-warming and energizing at any time, but it came with a special force in the years after 1873—perhaps one might say after 1859

—when uncertainties were beginning to gnaw at the composure of the whole continent.

Election figures showed dramatically the pull of the socialist faith—and the damage done to the liberal parties. There was, however, an additional consequence. Regardless of whether the Marxist mastiff before 1914 had a bite equal to his bark, there was certainly more than enough noise to frighten the bourgeoisie. While, therefore, socialism attracted in one direction, it also exercised a powerful force of repulsion in the other. For many anxious possessors of private property, it looked as if the liberal parties, especially as they threatened to go back on a rigorous *laissez faire*, were supping with far too short a spoon, and there followed an exodus of uneasy liberals toward the antisocialist pole. Numerically it was much less imposing than the move into socialism, but it was far from insignificant in terms of political weight. In the perspective of today, these losses to the right were as fraught with consequences as were the defections to socialism.

The previous discussion has indicated that the ideas and institutions which liberalism had opposed in 1814 had suffered, under the fell clutch of nineteenth-century circumstance, a diminished fortune. Kings remained, but the rhetoric of a William II of Germany belonged, like the ceremonies of Westminster Abbey, to the political theater rather than to the work-a-day world of political fact. Nobles remained, too, and they were not without a force out of harmony with Bentham's dictum that each should count for one and only one. But here, as well, there was something reminiscent of the pages of Sir Walter Scott and the pageantry of Watteau rather than the prime stuff of life. It was symbolic of more than a German dilemma when the sons of Brandenburg contracted marriages among the daughters of Berlin and the Ruhr.

Of these earlier forces at odds with the major tenets of liberalism only the Roman Catholic Church was able to muster the energy for a counteroffensive. The Church had long seen no fury such as that of Pius IX when his Holiness returned to his dominions in 1849 after the storms of the revolution had driven him from Rome. During the next thirty years this ecclesiastical Hercules put the strength of ten times ten into the tasks of rescue, discipline, and defiance. The culminating eightieth of the errors of the day, said the Vatican *Syllabus* which excited all Europe in 1864, was the proposition that the Roman pontiff should reconcile himself to, and come to terms with, progress, liberalism, and modern civilization.³⁵ The growth of Catholic politi-

³⁵ The precise relation of Pope Pius IX himself to this document which was attached to one of his encyclicals became a subject of debate from the day of its publication. Many so-called liberal Catholics, and other Catholics to whom the adjective would not have been entirely agreeable, insisted that the *Syllabus*, as related to the pope's real intent, was not as rigorous as it

cal parties hostile to the intellectual outlook of liberalism and at times critical of its economic policies gave practical effect to at least a part of this guidance from Rome.

These efforts, imposing as they were in successfully girding the Church for battle, could not undo one development, and could not spare the Church one serious dilemma. In 1814 it had seemed to many anxious spirits a matter of transcendent importance to cement the bond between throne and altar, to commingle (as Croce bluntly put it)³⁶ the odors of the sacristy and the police station. In the decades which followed, the liberal spirit had done a work of destruction on that bond which could not be undone. And indeed, the Church, with its ancient sensitivity toward the state rearoused, was no longer ready with a unanimous verdict in favor of the old alliance, no matter how firmly Lamennais had been called to heel back in the thirties.³⁷ The distrust of the state in the mind of the converted Newman may well have had some connection with the Anglican Erastianism which he had repudiated, but elsewhere good Catholics among his contemporaries and successors could not be overly comfortable in their own souls about a secular institution which was undertaking so many functions that it threatened to forget the distinction between the things which were Caesar's and those which were God's.

Despite what remained of strength in the old conservatism, the menace to liberals coming from the right derived from another source. It was to be found in the *embourgeoisement* of conservatism, that is, in the defection of capitalists—and of that happy breed, the vicarious capitalists—from the ranks of their fathers. In the caravan of seceders were those who were apprehensive of that leap into the dark waters of political democracy, those who saw invasions of economic liberty in social legislation, and those who were aroused by the socialist war on private property and wanted a firmer ground of opposition.

Liberalism had exalted progress along with freedom and latterly had been attempting to adapt its ways and principles to new conditions. It was equally representative of a new trend that by the 1880's doubts as to the reality of progress were beginning to appear, and men in both England and France—men like Sir Henry Maine and Paul Leroy-Beaulieu—were invoking liberty as a barrier to the activities of a democratic state.³⁸ About the same time,

seemed, This thesis has received a recent expression in Thomas P. Neill, *The Rise and Decline of Liberalism* (Milwaukee, 1953), pp. 223-24.

³⁶ Benedetto Croce, *History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1933), p. 93.

³⁷ E. L. (Sir Llewellyn) Woodward, *Three Studies in European Conservatism* . . . (London, 1929); Harold J. Laski, *Authority in the Modern State* (New Haven, 1919).

³⁸ Sir Henry Maine, *Popular Government* (New York, 1886); Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, *Etat moderne et ses fonctions* (1st ed., Paris, 1889; 2d ed., Paris, 1900). The first three books of the latter were translated as *The Modern State in Relation to the Individual* (London, 1891).

while the liberal John Morley was warning his turbulent friend Joseph Chamberlain against talking about Natural Law,³⁹ the philosopher Ritchie found a noble lord before a Tory audience making capital for his party out of the arguments of old Tom Paine.⁴⁰

These references are only illustrative of the fact that people who had their hearts—and their fortunes—heavily invested in economic individualism were going over to the defensive, were organizing a holding operation which made their point of view, by any reasonable definition, conservatism. These new bourgeois conservatives could see no great injury to liberty in a protective tariff, but other forms of state intervention in economic enterprise they were disposed to regard as poison in the well-springs of individual initiative and responsibility. In so far as the old liberal parties no longer offered aid and comfort to such convictions, the anxious believers moved off to parties on the right.

It was a common concern for the security of private property which formed the bridge between the old and the new conservatism. Once upon a time aristocratic opponents of bourgeois liberals had innocently indulged in day dreams about an alliance with the lesser folk, but the latter part of the nineteenth century was no longer once upon that time. The disfranchised of the cities had shown no more willingness to follow the lead of the upper classes than that of the middle, and when such defiance had become a signal fact of European life, the men of two kinds of property, rural and urban, moved together.

At the same time these growing uncertainties and anxieties were conducive to a review of the place of religion in bourgeois life. There were precedents that could not have been entirely lost. Napoleon Bonaparte and John Wesley had in common at least the fact that they had shown the effectiveness of religion as a stabilizer of the social order. In the newer times of unrest men who once cherished anticlericalism as a fundamental part of their credo began to realize the utility of the church. But it was not just a matter, as with some of the leaders of the *Action française*, of pouring out an opiate for the masses. After 1848, men whose urban ancestors back in the Middle Ages had delighted in indelicate stories about the clergy, discovered that regularity at the mass, or at the sermon, was a hallmark of respectability and, for at least some of them, a source of spiritual relief. A generation later this reconciliation had made further strides, although he would be bold indeed who proposed to count the bourgeois noses that breathed piety and those that sniffed still the air of secularity.

³⁹ John Morley, *Recollections* (New York, 1917), I, 157–58.

⁴⁰ David G. Ritchie, *Natural Rights* (London, 1895), p. 15.

The Catholic Church, while welcoming the penitent and the timorous, had its own continuing problems of adjustment to the late nineteenth century. Its distrust of a headstrong state inspired caution in questions of governmental intervention in social problems; on the other hand, its compassion for the plight of the masses required search for a social agency of help. When in 1891, therefore, Pope Leo XIII prepared his encyclical *Rerum novarum*, he had no simple task. His concern for the working class won him the title of the workingman's pope, but at the same time he held out substantial comfort to the owning class. For all of its ameliorative proposals and adjurations, the papal pronouncement left the workers still workers, the bottom stratum of a hierarchical society; capitalist enterprise no less than private property received a certificate of sanctification, and socialism felt anew the lash of sacerdotal reprobation.⁴¹ Out in the provinces of the Church there appeared in time various social movements, some based on a concept of a so-called Christian socialism, which could not be reassuring for bourgeois conservatism, but the dominant tone of ecclesiastical utterances none the less assisted in the bourgeois drift to the right and in the reconciliation of the old conservatism with the new.

One further aspect of this newer conservatism requires emphasis: that was its moderation. Where the conservatives won out at the expense of the liberals, their victories did not affect the main contours of life. The temper of the time had its compass in Burke rather than in Joseph de Maistre and Adam Müller and the latter-day arch-reactionary, Heinrich Leo. Bismarck's principles, such as he had, allowed him to try to destroy liberal measures as readily as to adopt them, but even Bismarck was unable lastingly to root out what he had sown. Aside from this gargantuan creature, it would be difficult to find a political conservative of eminence during the second half of the century who wanted to do fundamental violence to the achievements of the liberal epoch.

It is true that the spirit of constitutionalism was still at times subverted, but there was no formal abandonment of a constitution where liberalism had won a solid achievement, and no formal reversal of the distribution of political power. In the life of the average European there was no significant loss of rights once gained. His legal protection remained intact and those personal freedoms of the old bill of rights, except for the transitory Bismarckian onslaughts, continued to command respect. There was no serious thought outside of Russia of repeating the Carlsbad decrees of 1819, or of reviving some-

⁴¹ A new and approved translation of *Rerum novarum* was issued in 1942 by the National Catholic Welfare Conference of Washington, D.C. A somewhat abridged text appears in Donald O. Wagner, *Social Reformers: Adam Smith to John Dewey* (New York, 1934), pp. 617-37.

thing like the judicial commission at Mainz which operated at about the moral and intellectual level of some of our present-day legislative investigations. On June 28, 1914, this average European moved more freely, read more freely, and talked more freely than ever before in the Continent's experience. To that extent, therefore, we may properly speak not only of the *embourgeoisement* of conservatism but also of its liberalization.

If the observations suggested up to this point were the whole story, the history of liberalism's troubles would be relatively simple, perhaps even relatively unimportant. There were, however, other chapters of portentous import.

The great affirmations of freedom out of which liberalism had drawn its spiritual nourishment vaunted individualism toward the point of making society a mere collection of atoms. In 1789 the Declaration of the Rights of Man had epitomized this way of thinking when it made no reference to a right of association. Jeremy Bentham, in turn, made one of the most extreme statements of the same conviction—"The community is a fictitious *body*"—yet only one of the most extreme statements.⁴² The concept of an atomistic social aggregate was, either explicitly or implicitly, a basic element of early liberalism.

As it turned out, the zealots who hurried on impatiently with the work of winning liberty for the individual operated on assumptions about the nature of man which were too single-minded. There were good grounds, both in the practicalities of life and in the impulses of man, which suggested to hordes of human beings something less than a complete espousal of atomization. As de Tocqueville explained it, "Through association private citizens can create very wealthy, very powerful, very influential beings, in a word, aristocrats."⁴³

The nineteenth century learned the philosopher's lesson well. In the field of economic enterprise, there was on one side a great growth of labor unions; there was on the other a tremendous expansion of corporations and, on top of them, cartels and those other complicated arrangements which leave the uninitiated in baffled confusion. Equally, in other fields of life the number of associations was beyond count. One thing about this gigantic proliferation of collectivities is inescapably clear. It played havoc with liberalism's starting assumption of an atomistic individualism. When the discussion moves from individual freedom to freedom of economic and religious and other associations, one is soon in a changed geography of politics. The issue may still be

⁴² Bentham, *Works*, I, 3; Wagner, p. 35.

⁴³ In a letter of 1842, Soltau, *French Political Thought*, pp. 51-52.

liberty, but it is no longer that of early liberalism. An inherently atomistic society is giving way to an inherently pluralistic society.

Behind the manifold practicalities of life which were conducive to the making of associations, there were impulses of man which drove the individual down from the isolated rock into the fold of a group. Jean Jacques Rousseau once pointed out that there was no great emotional satisfaction in contemplating one's membership in the whole body of mankind. And, in truth, the search for something bigger, something more significant, more transcendent than the self has found numerous havens in a smaller society. In the nineteenth century, as in all others, a wide array of corporate bodies gave a sense of belonging to lonely individuals, but the reasons of the heart seized most portentously on that essentially new apparition in the life of man, the nation.

The liberal of the early decades of the century could not fail to respond to the nobility of a Herder and a Mazzini. For one who believed in the freedom of an individual human being it was treacherously easy to espouse the freedom of a group of human beings making up a nation. Hence it was that liberalism rallied to the cause of the Greeks, suffered with the Poles, and gave its blessing to the dreams of Italy. Hence it was, too, that in Germany the liberal and the national aspirations appeared to be merely two sides of one and the same great avenue to felicity.

The upheavals of 1848 gave a harsh shock to this house of illusions. The debates in Frankfurt on the Poles, the Hungarian attitude toward the Slavs, were symptomatic of the new day that was struggling to birth. Soon thereafter came a reversal of a dimension to cast a long shadow. The conservatives, whose fathers had joined Metternich in rejecting this new folly, moved steadily forward to become the champions of nationalism. After the moral damage which Bismarck and Napoleon III and Cavour did to the idea of Europe, this virulent spirit stood revealed in its true colors—and on the other side of a gulf from the old liberalism.

Yet so pervasive, so compelling was the force of nationalism that it administered the most shattering blow which liberalism had had to suffer. Nationalism, like other trends, spelled defections from the liberal parties, but more disastrous still, it commanded the eventual capitulation of the parties themselves. Before 1914 the freedoms which liberalism had cultivated as the basic necessities of decent human life had actually become luxuries, marked for sacrifice on the national altar when the day of reckoning should come.

The growth of nationalism, then, represented an undermining of the

atomistic assumption of liberalism. It was, at the same time, symptomatic of the decline of another, and even more fundamental, article of the creed, belief in the inherent rationality of man and in the high value of intelligence in the ordering of human affairs.⁴⁴

It had become less and less easy to hold to the good eighteenth-century doctrine that man by taking thought could add one cubit to his stature. The industrious age of history-mindedness sounded the first warning. History had lost that dogmatic simplicity of the rationalists who held that Europe was what it was because of the tricks in times past of scheming priests and selfish politicians. Instead, historians were now disposed to picture European society as the slowly wrought product of a complex of change that was beyond the directing control of a group of men however bad—or however reasonable. Burke had warned in 1790 that one could not hurry history, and nineteenth-century experiences and researches seemingly confirmed his judgment.

But this dampening lesson in history was only introductory to the course in science which followed. In those black years of the fifties and sixties when nationalist irrationality was winning its most striking victories in international relations, science was beginning to consolidate its own empire. It was purportedly an empire of hard fact which had no place for philosophic values, but speculation crept in to set up a mechanistic cosmos propelled by blind force. The new biology seemingly revealed how irretrievably man was embedded in this realm of elemental impulse; sociology purported to expose the irrationalities of the social process, and psychology dealt out a whole series of blows in rapid succession. This thing called mind was a product, so it was said, of heredity; it carried the stamp of racial antecedents and it carried no less the merits and demerits of immediate parental stock. Here were doctrines subversive enough of the old assumption, but more damage yet was in store. The rational process turned out, by scientific finding, to be only a small part of the human psyche, the least important. Behind it, hidden but dominant, was the basic primitive force of life with its pounding drives, not for thought but for action.⁴⁵

The creature pictured in such terms bore only a coincidental external resemblance to the man of disembodied intellect posited by James Mill and to some degree assumed by the traditions of liberalism. A first reaction to

⁴⁴ For an excellent brief statement of the place of rationality in the liberal canon see George H. Sabine, "The Historical Position of Liberalism," *American Scholar*, X (December, 1940), 49–58, reprinted in Caroline F. Ware, ed., *The Cultural Approach to History* (New York, 1940), pp. 212–22.

⁴⁵ John H. Hallowell, *Main Currents in Modern Political Thought* (New York, 1950), chap. xv gives a short and unsympathetic survey of these trends. See also his *Decline of Liberalism as an Ideology* . . . (Berkeley, 1943).

these disillusioning discoveries could only have been one of pessimism, and so it came about that Schopenhauer gained at last his vogue. But it is not given to Western man to sit long in nerveless passivity crying against the vanity of all things. If science had analyzed away a convincing moral goal of action, one could at least act, and one could do so in the scientifically validated conviction that action was an end in itself, the real purpose of life.

Studies and conclusions such as these began, of course, in the top intellectual stratum of Europe. In the last generation of the nineteenth century, however, ideas were seeping downward more rapidly than in less literate times, and, therefore, an ill-digested *mélange* of these ill-digested new thoughts began to spread into the shelters for the derelicts of Vienna, along the gutters of Switzerland, and even as far away as the waterfront of San Francisco. By the time the war came, however, the rocky strata of the middle class, although showing signs of strain toward the bottom, were still relatively impervious, and the ultimate fortunes of these extremes of illiberalism were still in the womb of time.

Yet most certainly in 1914 the old dream in which the European had been lured on toward the promised dawn of man's perfectability was becoming the private luxury of the willful somnambulist. Beneath the miracle of continually mounting wealth and the relentless drive toward democracy, the vitality of a once confident movement was declining. In the face of unforeseen economic developments, of uninspiring levels of practical politics, of weak philosophic bases, the people of Europe were turning away from the ideal which had so powerfully stirred their fathers and grandfathers.

Many harsh things have been said about liberalism—in the rolling Latin of Rome, in the quarrelsome idioms of Marxism, in the shrill tongues of the antirationalists. Some of the more moderate opponents have proposed to dismiss liberalism, or to discount it, as merely the rationalizations of the middle class on the make, rationalizations which were no longer of interest when middle-class fortune was made, and particularly when middle-class fortune was in jeopardy. Criticisms springing from dogmatic convictions can hardly be met without moving the debate to the dogmas themselves, but it may be in order to point out that the class interpretation of liberalism, however much truth there may be in it, contains a fallacy. The full significance of an ideal is not exhausted by an account of its origins, nor is an ideal to be judged exclusively in terms of some movement or vested interest which uses it for its own purposes.

The weaknesses of the way in which nineteenth-century liberalism clothed an ancient ideal are eminently apparent now that a newer century has half

gone by. The weaknesses, however, are not the whole story. Under the impact of the long swing of the pendulum in recent years it is perhaps easy to minimize liberalism's accomplishments and, also, to underestimate the strength of the governing ideal which, for all the blunders and crimes committed in its name, has had—and still has not by any means entirely lost—a dynamic power, the power arising from a vision of human freedom based on moral conviction. The means which the nineteenth century adopted were not adequate for the realization of the vision; the problems were too complex for the insights of those intellectually unprepared generations. But the vision was there, and it has been passed on, though it be damaged at the hands of both the liberals and their rivals and enemies.

Today's sobering knowledge warns that, at best, the achievement of the ideal has been postponed beyond the time once so happily expected. It may be that mankind can never really attain a secured liberty, that it must go on working toward it, like old Sisyphus, with little hope of success until the day of doom. But even if the prospect is that meager, for one who loves liberty it seems surely that mankind could not be better employed.

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The Distinguished Negro in America, 1770-1936

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I

EXCEPT for an occasional Nat Turner, Booker T. Washington, or George W. Carver, the Negro as a person is missing from the textbooks from which the millions learn their history. The race has bulked large as a theme in American historiography, but such treatment has been largely preoccupied with Negroes *en masse* and as a "problem," and has rarely extended to individual, creative Negroes and their contributions to American society. It may be supposed that white, college-bred Americans can identify very few of the most celebrated Negroes who attained prominence of some sort before World War I.

A search of the 14,285 sketches in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, reveals that only 89 of the number—about six tenths of one per cent—treat Negroes, and the selections reflect an honest application of impartial standards. If a conservative twelve per cent be taken as the average proportion of Negroes to the total population in the entire span of American history to 1936 it would follow, if the Negro's opportunity had equaled that of the whites, that some 1,700 colored notables might have found their way into the *DAB*. And if the number of Negroes in *Who's Who in America* since that time is a valid measure (it is admittedly a precarious one), it appears that both the small number of Negroes in the *DAB* and the extremely limited number of fields in which they were concentrated traced a pattern that persisted well into the twentieth century.¹

The roster compiled for this paper identifies some 215 of the most celebrated Negroes in the American past. It makes no pretense at cataloguing every person of African descent who made his name a familiar and honored

¹ *Who's Who in America, 1936-1937* with a total of 31,434 entries, includes a hundred Negroes (0.32 per cent); the volume for 1944-1945, only 91 (0.27 per cent), in a total of 33,839. The index of the *DAB* lists nearly 700 occupations, avocations, and other roles in which the biographees fall. In approximately 98 per cent of these areas where Americans have achieved the kind of distinction that is celebrated in biographical dictionaries, not a Negro appears. On the other hand, no less than 33 of the 100 Negroes in the 1936-1937 *Who's Who* are in the single category of leaders in the Negro church. See Monroe N. Work, ed., *Negro Year Book: An Annual Encyclopedia of the Negro, 1937-1938* (Tuskegee, 1937); and also the volume for 1947, edited by Jessie P. Guzman (Tuskegee, 1947).

one beyond his own time and place; still less does it purport to call the roll of the "greatest" or ablest, for it has been steadily assumed in this investigation that greatness and renown are only distantly related, that achievement is far from being a straight function of capacity, and that fame is all too often merely a matter of blundering into precisely the right place at the right time in the right company.

The problem of enumerating distinguished Negroes in the American record is a formidable one. In determining his standards for inclusion, the writer reckoned with two elements. He tried to employ the measuring rod used by the editors of the *DAB* ("In general, only those are included in the following pages who have made some significant contribution to American life in its manifold aspects. The Dictionary cannot find space for average or merely typical figures, however estimable they may be" [I, vii]). But a strict construction of this principle seems too exclusive when one is inscribing the names of those who stood in the vanguard of the Negro race as it climbed from slavery; achievements that may appear short of memorable in the context of the whole population can be far from average in another frame, and scrutiny of the Negro notables may reveal many who, unless they are measured against opportunity, are not conspicuous for talent or achievement. A second criterion, therefore, was the extent of each candidate's renown, especially among Negroes, as expressed by the attention paid them in print—from scholarly works to popular periodicals. The relative preponderance of the two elements varies greatly from individual to individual. A person of genuinely outstanding achievement is listed even though he did not win mass acclaim; but, on the other hand, a more widely noticed individual whose fame rests on more modest grounds was considered equally eligible. But when great popularity rested on evanescent "distinction" (in this category the writer would—perhaps arbitrarily—place heroes of the world of sport, light music, tap-dancing, and the like), the name was discarded.²

² The critical relevance for this paper of his own list's validity is the writer's apology for a lengthy note on his method in assembling it. It is emphasized that the *Dictionary of American Biography* and the present study differ widely in purpose, and there is no intention here to "improve" upon the *DAB*'s selection. In the case of persons who had died before January 1, 1936, the problem of selection was measurably simplified by access to the *Dictionary*. The high critical standards of that work justified, in the author's judgment, the inclusion in his own list of all the Negroes listed in that work. It was necessary to scan all of the biographical sketches in the *DAB* to cull out those describing Negroes. That done, the writer examined the standard general histories (all of them were written by Negroes): John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1947); Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro in Our History* (8th ed; Washington, 1945); Benjamin Brawley, *A Social History of the American Negro* (New York, 1921); George Washington Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America* (2 vols., New York, 1882). Of particular interest, not for critical scholarship but for the frank intention which its title implies, is another history, Merle Eppse, *The Negro, Too, in American History* (Chicago, 1939). Extremely valuable from other points of view were William E. B. DuBois, *Black Folk Then and Now: An Essay in the History and Sociology of the Negro Race* (New York, 1939); E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (New York, 1949); and Gunnar Myrdal, *An American*

Of the 126 names added to those in the *DAB*, some (like Benjamin Banneker, Sojourner Truth, Alexander Crummell, Charles W. Chesnutt) are very much more celebrated among Negroes and by their historians than many of those in the *Dictionary*; and some of the *DAB* selections (e.g., James Beckwourth, Camille Thierry, Edward Roye, George Young) are not usually identified as eminent American Negroes at all. Moreover the *DAB*, its supplementary volume included, lists no persons who were still living after 1935, and therefore does not take into account a remarkable develop-

Dilemma (2 vols., New York, 1944). Much information concerning outstanding Negro personalities was gleaned from Benjamin Brawley, *The Negro Genius* (New York, 1947); and two older, uncritical works: William Wells Brown, *The Black Man, His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements* (New York, 1863); and William J. Simmons, *Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive and Rising* (Cleveland, 1887). Vernon Loggins, *The Negro Author: His Development in America* (New York, 1931), by a white scholar, had a much wider relevance to this study than the title suggests. Immensely useful also was William E. B. DuBois and Guy B. Johnson, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Negro* (preparatory vol., New York, 1946), a catalogue of all the topics, including persons, that were to have been the subjects of sketches in that projected work. While analyzing the foregoing books, the writer entered upon a tally sheet the individuals singled out for particular mention, noting by means of a (necessarily) makeshift weighted index the relative importance assigned to each, judged especially by the regularity of mention in the whole range of works and the emphasis allotted to the several candidates. This device was continued in the course of an examination of the complete files of the *Journal of Negro History* (Washington, 1916—) and the *Negro History Bulletin* (Washington, 1937—), both published by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; the *Journal of Negro Education* (Washington, 1937—), of Howard University; *Phylon* (Atlanta, 1940—), of Atlanta University; *Opportunity* (New York, 1923—), published by the National Urban League; *Crisis* (New York, 1910—), an organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and two popular monthlies, *Ebony* (Chicago, 1945—), and the *Negro Digest* (Chicago, 1942—). This whole list of books and periodicals will be cited collectively hereafter as "Basic Bibliography." The list was further checked against the judgment of specialists whose books, monographs, and articles (many of them cited in the footnotes that follow) deal separately with Negro antislavery leaders, Negro art, music, and religion, the Negro economy, Negroes in politics, studies of individual Negroes, histories of American literature in general and of Negro literature in particular, and the like. For the period after 1900, many of whose notables were still living in 1936, the investigation could no longer lean upon the *DAB*, and additional resources had to be pressed into service to supplement the Basic Bibliography. The starting point was the group of 100 Negroes in the 1936-1937 volume of *Who's Who in America*. Because the standards of selection in *Who's Who* are not so high as those for the *DAB* (the single volume for 1936-1937 contains more than twice as many biographies as does the whole of the *DAB*, which spans more than three centuries), and because, of course, in view of its widely different purpose, *Who's Who's* selections are not subjected to the same scholarly evaluations that mark the *DAB's* choices, the *Who's Who* entries were analyzed in the course of this study and compared with the data already assembled from the Basic Bibliography and the special studies described above. Further evaluation of the candidates was made in the light of suggestions from the 1937, 1942, and 1947 volumes of the *Negro Year Book* (cited) and issues of Florence Murray, ed., *Negro Handbook* (New York, 1942, 1944, 1947, 1949), as well as the several volumes of *Who's Who in Colored America* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, 1927, 1928, 1930, 1933, 1938, 1941, 1950). Lists of the winners of the annual Harmon Awards and Spingarn Medals for distinguished achievement were studied, and not overlooked were critical reviews and notices, in general and special periodicals, of the work of Negro artists, writers, and musicians. Important information and interpretations were also provided by such books as Roi Ottley, *New World A-Coming* (Boston, 1943). Jay Saunders Redding, *No Day of Triumph* (New York, 1942), James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (New York, 1930), and *id.*, *Along This Way* (New York, 1933). This procedure led the writer to omit from his list some of those entered in *Who's Who in America* and to include some who were not listed in that work at all. As this paper's roll of distinguished Negroes is accumulated in subsequent footnotes, the first mention of each name taken from the *DAB* is starred (*) to distinguish it from names selected for the compilation by the author. The evidence upon which his own choices were made is then indicated.

ment affecting the generation whose careers were launched in the post-World War I years and who were in mid-career at the *DAB*'s closing date. By setting the terminal date for this study at 1936 the writer limits his investigation to (a) those whose careers had already been closed by death at that time, and (b) those, then living, whose claim to more than passing attention, already apparent by 1936, seems now to have been confirmed.

The list as a whole may be conveniently divided—with the usual hazards that such division encounters—into four periods, each with a character of its own and reflecting the wider aspects of contemporary American social history. No single trait is more characteristic of the whole group of distinguished Negroes than their commitment to the American culture pattern. In the process of transplantation to America, the race was cut clean from its native culture, and thereafter, during two centuries of bondage, its role in America made the identification of the American Negro with an African culture unthinkable. At the same time, a kind of caste system barred it from full participation in native American society. The response was the gradual building by the Negro, severely limited by the materials at his disposal, of a replica of white American culture on his own side of the color line, an enclave stamped with the features of its model and carrying over familiar designs of social stratification based eventually on inheritance, wealth, vocation, and education. But, from the moment the Negro counterpart of American society began to emerge, the premises from which both derived their sanctions turned the thoughts of the leaders of the Negro community to the day when the color line would waver and break and the copy merge with its original.³

II

If a central tendency in American social history in the half century following 1770 was the effort to found a native American order, the same effort engaged the Negro leader. Denied full participation in that process in the white man's institutions, he proceeded to build his own, beginning with the church, the school, and the fraternal order. Other members of the race found self-expression in letters and in learning, and still others began the assault upon slavery and caste. Twenty-six persons have been selected to represent the first period, 1770-1831: (a) three Revolutionary heroes, (b) two who may be called men of science, (c) three pioneer literary figures, (d) four chiefly

³ For further development of this point of view, see Alain Locke, "The American Negro as Artist," *American Magazine of Art*, XXIII (September, 1931), 216-20; Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.*, *passim*; Guy B. Johnson, "Negro Racial Movements and Leadership in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (July, 1937), 57-71.

noted as articulate champions of Negro advance, (e) three plotters of insurrection, and (f) eleven religious leaders.⁴

Diverse though it was, this group presents at least three uniformities. First, all were in some sort Negro pioneers: first to die for America, to win glory in her wars, to become published writers, to initiate an independent Negro church or to establish congregations for Negroes in the white man's denominations, and the like. Second, such distinctions as they achieved were not won in competition with whites. Though they fall into two general groups from this point of view—those who demonstrated the Negro's capacity to make some contribution to society and so furnished their race with new claims upon their white countrymen, and those who made some overt attack upon the white man's arrogations—they had in common the fact that each is remembered for furnishing leadership somehow in the struggle to raise the Negro's condition. Third, these folk for the most part made their mark on their own initiative—often encouraged by sympathetic whites, to be sure—but not as sponsored agents of white organizations and their programs.⁵

⁴ (a) Crispus Attucks,* hero of the "Boston Massacre"; Peter Salem and Salem Poor, who distinguished themselves at Bunker Hill. (b) Benjamin Banneker, mathematician and almanac-maker; James Derham, pioneer Negro physician. (c) Jupiter Hammon* and Phillis Wheatley,* poets, and Gustava Vassa, author of a remarkable autobiography. (d) Paul Cuffe,* successful champion of suffrage for the free Negro in Massachusetts; Elijah Johnson,* a founder of Liberia; David Walker,* abolition pamphleteer; and James Forten.* (e) Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey,* and Nat Turner.* (f) Richard Allen,* Andrew Bryan and George Liele, pioneer Baptist preachers; James Varick,* founder and first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; David Coker, Absalom Jones, and Morris Brown,* early African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church leaders; Lemuel Haynes; Lott Cary,* Baptist missionary to Africa; John Chavis,* educator and Presbyterian preacher; Prince Hall, founder of Negro Masonry. Of the 14 names added here to those supplied by the *DAB*, all were clearly indicated by the Basic Bibliography. Extreme claims for some of them are made by a distinguished scholar in DuBois, *Black Folk, Then and Now*, *passim*. For additional evidence of their prominence as leading Negroes see, e.g., Henry Baker, "Benjamin Banneker, the Negro Mathematician and Astronomer," *Journal of Negro History*, III (April, 1918), 99-118, and the series, "The Real Benjamin Banneker," by William B. Settle, in four successive issues of *Negro History Bulletin*, beginning January, 1953. Additional testimony to support the status of James Derham as an eminent Negro is in Kelly Miller, "The Historic Background of the Negro Physician," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, I (April, 1916), 99-109. On Vassa consult Brawley, *Negro Genius*, pp. 28-30, and Loggins, *Negro Author*, pp. 16-29. Gabriel Prosser is frequently encountered in the Basic Bibliography, but see also Herbert Aptheker, *Negro Slave Revolts in the United States, 1526-1860* (Washington, 1939), pp. 27-31. Bryan, Liele, Coker, and Jones are among the most familiar names in the early history of the Negro church: Carter G. Woodson, *History of the Negro Church* (second edition, Washington, 1921), pp. 42-53, 74-75; "The Negro in Pennsylvania," *Negro Hist. Bull.*, V (December, 1941), 52-58; Charles H. Wesley, *Richard Allen, Apostle of Freedom* (Washington, 1935), *passim*; Loggins, pp. 62-63; Charles Henry Huberich, *The Political and Legislative History of Liberia* (2 vols., New York, 1947), I, 144; James W. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860*, XC VII, no. 3, in "Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law" (New York, 1921), pp. 203-205, 217; John W. Davis, "George Liele and Andrew Bryan, Pioneer Negro Baptist Preachers," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, III (April, 1918), 119-27. The stature of Lemuel Haynes is indicated in W. H. Morse, "Lemuel Haynes," *ibid.*, IV (January, 1919), 22-32, and Loggins, pp. 117-26. On Prince Hall consult Harry E. Davis, "Documents Relating to Negro Masonry," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXI (October, 1936), 411-32; Loggins, pp. 53, 83-85; Herbert Aptheker, *The Negro in the Abolitionist Movement* (New York, 1941), p. 30.

⁵ Banneker, for example, stirred in Thomas Jefferson the hope that proof might be some day

Pre-eminent among the religious leaders is Richard Allen, founder and first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Goaded by the whites' rising sentiment—in the North, be it noted—for segregation in Methodist congregations, Allen was instrumental in the establishment of a separate denomination for Negroes (1816) and attained at once the stature of a race leader hitherto not achieved by any Negro and thereafter unequaled until the rise of Frederick Douglass. The Negro church was not only the first but for many years the only major social institution created by and for Negroes. The pastor and the denominational spokesman were henceforth peculiarly the leaders of the race, for the Negro minister's function quickly became a much wider one than that of his white counterpart.⁶

Among the early crusaders for Negro rights James Forten, a wealthy free Negro of Philadelphia, was outstanding as an opponent of colonization schemes and as the founder of pre-Garrisonian abolitionism in America. One careful student sees in Forten the central figure in "the most important single event in the anti-slavery crusade."⁷

In the whole group of twenty-six were nine who had never been slaves, four of them natives of the North, four of the South, and one of the West Indies. Fourteen are known to have been slaves,⁸ six in the North and eight in the South, including two (Wheatley and Vassa) who were snatched from Africa during childhood. The status of three others is not known. Three of the slaves never became free (Hammon, Prosser, and Turner); and of the nine who did, only one did so by flight and the rest were either freely manumitted or purchased by themselves or friends or relatives. Only four

forthcoming that would enable him to abandon his reluctant belief in the inferiority of the race; and the performance of James Derham won extravagant praise from Benjamin Rush, Baker, "Benjamin Banneker, the Negro Mathematician and Astronomer," pp. 99-118; Miller, "Historic Background of the Negro Physician," pp. 99-109. The three belles-lettrists, particularly Phillis Wheatley, though severely imitative, furnished evidence of the consonance of high intellectual and aesthetic qualities with Negro blood that has ever since been cited to bolster the Negro's case for the inherent equality of races. For a characterization of Miss Wheatley as the leading American writer of her day, by a foremost Negro scholar, see DuBois, *Black Folk, Then and Now*, p. 218. See also Loggins, pp. 9-30, 40-47; Benjamin Brawley, *Early American Negro Writers* (Chapel Hill, 1935), pp. 21-74; *DAB*, VIII, 201, XX, 36.

⁶ On Allen as the foremost Negro leader of his time, see Wesley, *Richard Allen*; David Walker, *Appeal, in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in Particular and very Expressly to those of the United States of America . . .* (3d ed.; Boston, 1830), pp. 65-66. For the role of the Negro church and its leaders, see Daniel Alexander Payne, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Nashville, 1891); Woodson, *History of the Negro Church*; Benjamin E. Mays and Joseph W. Nicholson, *The Negro's Church* (New York, 1933); Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.*, pp. 334-66.

⁷ Whereas the colonization idea and the American Colonization Society premised their program on the racial inferiority and social unassimilability of Negroes, the Garrison-Weld movement came to be grounded on the doctrine of equality, thanks in large measure to Forten, who did much to convert Weld and Garrison to that view. Ray Allen Billington, "James Forten: Forgotten Abolitionist," *Negro Hist. Bull.*, XIII (November, 1949), 31-36, 45.

⁸ Attucks, Derham, Hammon, Wheatley, Vassa, Prosser, Vesey, Turner, Allen, Bryan, Cary, Coker, Jones, Liele.

of the twenty-six are described as "pure" blacks (Wheatley, Cary, Chavis, and Jones); the racial admixture of three is not known (Poor, Salem, Varick), and all the others were evidently mulattoes.⁹

Seven of the group laid the foundations for their renown in the South, four achieved prominence by their accomplishments outside America (Cary and Johnson in Liberia, Vassa in England, Liele in Jamaica), and fifteen won distinction in the North. Of the thirteen born in the South or brought there from Africa, seven remained in the section, four achieved their renown abroad, and two attained note after removal to the North. None of the whole company migrated to the South to make his contribution.

The educational preparation of three is not known (Attucks, Salem, Poor); of the other twenty-three none remained illiterate, though most of them attended no school but obtained what instruction they had by their own efforts or through the help of relatives or whites. The exceptions were Banneker, Forten, and Brown, who attended schools for free Negroes; Chavis, who had some college training; and Haynes, who attended schools for white children in Connecticut and apparently studied for a time at Dartmouth College.

III

This first group of eminent Negroes was composed primarily of men who had absorbed the culture of the whites and strove to extend it to more of their race. In the next generation a larger company of these acculturated leaders were characteristically men who found economic and civil disabilities intolerable precisely because they had assimilated so much of American culture. Such men moved naturally into the antislavery crusade because, through racial discrimination, they had themselves become identified with the enslaved Negro. This second period, 1831-1865, was in the nation's social history pre-eminently the time of the "rise of the common man," effectuated by wide-ranging reform efforts increasingly channeled into the antislavery movement. The Negro leadership adjusted itself easily to this formula and, convinced of the futility of slave revolts on the Turner model, worked now in close association with a growing army of Northern folk who espoused positive programs.

Just as the religious leader, typified by Allen, had dominated the previous period, so the next phase of Negro history saw the abolitionist-Negro-rights-

⁹ The term "mulatto" is loosely used in this study to denote persons of mixed Negro and Caucasian blood. Data concerning racial antecedents of the individuals are often given in accounts in the *DAB* or in the sources noted in note 2 above. In some instances the author has relied for information on this point on a somewhat controversial work, Edward Byron Reuter, *The Mulatto in the United States* (Boston, 1918).

crusader, epitomized in Frederick Douglass, move to the fore.¹⁰ Of the thirty-seven notable Negroes primarily associated with this period, no less than twenty-eight¹¹ are remembered chiefly for their contribution to that cause, and of the twenty-eight at least ten were or had been clergymen. Only one of the

¹⁰ This is not to say that the influence of the Negro church and its leaders waned; on the contrary, it remained more than ever the dominant institutional force in the Negro community. But with the pioneer work accomplished, independent denominations or congregations founded, and a network of other religious agencies already in being, even the most brilliant and industrious divine was less likely to stand out than his predecessors had been. Meanwhile in the South, where the Negro's religious institutions had not developed so far, the work was virtually halted by the legal and social pressures evoked by the Vesey and Turner risings.

¹¹ James Madison Bell,* William Wells Brown,* Samuel Cornish, John B. Russwurm,* Frederick Douglass,* Henry Highland Garnet,* Anthony Burns,* Josiah Henson,* Lunsford Lane, Jermain Loguen,* William Cooper Nell,* James W. C. Pennington,* Robert Purvis, Charles Bennett Ray,* Charles Lennox Remond,* Joseph Jenkins Roberts,* Edward James Roye,* David Ruggles, Prince Saunders,* Dred Scott,* James McCune Smith,* William Still,* Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman,* Samuel Ringgold Ward,* Martin R. Delaney,* James Whitfield, Alexander Crummell. Several of these persons are almost as well known for other accomplishments as for their association with the Negro rights movement. Bell and Whitfield were among the chief Negro poets of their time; Brown and Nell were the ablest historians that the race had yet produced; Cornish was the first editor and journalist; Russwurm became the first superintendent of public schools in Liberia; and Garnet was for a time widely known as a pastor of a white Presbyterian congregation in Troy, New York. Henson, the reputed original of Mrs. Stowe's world-famous fictional character, virtually made a career of being Uncle Tom; Loguen was a prominent bishop of the A.M.E.Z. Church; Pennington twice served as president of the Hartford Association of Congregational Ministers, an organization of which he was the sole Negro member. Ruggles enjoyed a measure of fame as a "hydropathist" at the Ruggles Water Cure Establishment in Northampton, Massachusetts, and Smith was both a successful physician and proprietor of what is believed to be the first pharmacy operated in the United States by a Negro. Still's service on the Underground Railroad enabled him to write the large volume on the history of that enterprise that keeps his memory alive among historians. Ward was noted for his pulpit eloquence and was minister to a white congregation in Courtland, New York. Delaney was the first Negro to hold the rank of major in the United States Army. Crummell, an eminent antislavery crusader and clergyman, later spent twenty years in Liberia, and then after his return to the United States was a sort of elder statesman to the race until his death in 1898. The pulpit oratory of his later years is still considered one of the American Negro's highest literary accomplishments, and he is regarded as one of the most effective spokesmen of the doctrine of challenge in the era when his people were more inclined toward the "Atlanta Compromise" philosophy of Booker Washington. Loggins, *Negro Author*, pp. 199-209, 299, 301. See also William E. B. DuBois, *Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago, 1903), pp. 215-27. All of the antislavery workers here drawn from the *DAB* are heavily emphasized in the Basic Bibliography. The writer's decision to add the other names is based both on the Basic Bibliography and on the testimony afforded by many other works. See especially Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, II, 737; John Spencer Bassett, *Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina*, "Johns Hopkins University Studies," Series XVI, no. 6 (Baltimore, 1898), pp. 60-74; Sherman Savage, "The Influence of John Chavis and Lunsford Lane on the History of North Carolina," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXV (January, 1940), 14-24; Olive Gilbert, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth, Northern Slave* (Boston, 1850); Mary Derby, "Sojourner Truth," *Opportunity*, XVIII (June, 1940), 167-69; Arthur Huff Fauset, *Sojourner Truth: God's Faithful Pilgrim* (Chapel Hill, 1938); Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1898), *passim*; L. D. Riddick, "Samuel Cornish," *Negro Hist. Bull.*, V (November, 1941), 38; Bella Gross, "Freedom's Journal and the Rights of All," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XVII (July, 1932), 246-86; Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.*, p. 495; Dorothy B. Porter, "David Ruggles, an Apostle of Human Rights," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXVIII (January, 1943), 23-50; Helen Boardman, in *Negro Hist. Bull.*, V (November, 1941), 39-40; Loggins, *Negro Author*, pp. 78-82, 209, 66-69, 219-22, 301; Brawley, *Early Writers*, pp. 299-301; DuBois, *Souls of Black Folk*, pp. 215-27; Brown, *Black Man*, pp. 165-69, 253-59; Pauline C. Johnson, "Robert Purvis," *Negro Hist. Bull.*, V (December, 1941), 65-66; William Still, *The Underground Railroad* (Philadelphia, 1872), p. 711. Whitfield, like Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (who appears later in this study), is more often identified as a poet than as an antislavery leader, but he threw his greatest energies into the abolitionist effort. See Brawley, *Early Writers*, pp. 228, 261-63, 290-92; Loggins, pp. 235-48; Brown, pp. 152, 160, 223-27.

larger group of thirty-seven was a church leader whose fame lay outside the Negro-rights movement.¹² Of the remaining nine, (a) four were writers of belles lettres, (b) one was a Shakespearean actor, (c) one a concert singer, (d) one an inventor, (e) and one is listed in the *DAB* as a "hunter, squaw man, and raconteur."¹³

The great majority of the apostles of Negro rights sought to end slavery and to achieve first-class citizenship for free Negroes.¹⁴ Many made their contribution by writing or lecturing; several wrote "personal narratives," usually encouraged by, or directly in behalf of, antislavery and benevolent societies who helped polish the literature and give it circulation. Others were associated with abolitionist journals like those of Garrison or of Negro editors like Cornish. Some Negro abolitionists served as organizers and agents, some of them salaried, for antislavery groups; some, like Cornish, Douglass, and Purvis, were high officers of the American Anti-Slavery Society. More dramatic were the exploits of at least ten of the list, who engaged in the direct rescue of slaves through the Underground Railroad.¹⁵

¹² Bishop John Mifflin Brown,* also noted for efforts to promote higher education for Negroes.

¹³ (a) Victor Séjour,* playwright, and Camille Thierry,* George Moses Horton, and George B. Vashon, poets. Séjour and Thierry were of Louisiana French-Creole stock and made their careers in France. (b) Ira Aldridge.* Finding his own country unready to support a colored dramatic genius, he achieved high renown in England and then made his home there. (c) Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield, perhaps the greatest Negro singer in America before 1865. (d) Norbert Rillieux, of mixed French and Negro descent, inventor of apparatus that proved to be of critical importance to the sugar-making interest of Louisiana. (e) James P. Beckwourth.* The claims of Horton, Vashon, Mrs. Greenfield, and Rillieux are strongly set forth in the Basic Bibliography and elsewhere. See especially Loggins, *Negro Author*, Brown, *Black Man*, and Brawley, *Social History, Early Writers, and Negro Genius*. Additional support for Rillieux is in Henry E. Baker, "The Negro in the Field of Invention," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, II (January, 1917), 21-36.

¹⁴ A minority of them were, instead, advocates of colonization. Roberts and Royce made their careers in Liberia. It is doubtful that Saunders' interest in emigration went far beyond an attempt to make a career for himself in the court of Christophe in Haiti. Delaney, Russwurm, and Whitfield were emigration propagandists, though Delaney returned to the opposition and Russwurm had earlier been a vigorous opponent of the scheme. The emigrationists of this period, like those associated with the Garvey movement in the twentieth century, represent an aberration from the central trend toward an American culture for Negroes. Neither had much hope of success. See Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, pp. 185-86, 746-49, 805-807, and Guy B. Johnson, "Negro Racial Movements," *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, XLIII, 57-71.

¹⁵ An extensive bibliography of antislavery writings by Negro authors is in Loggins, *Negro Author*, pp. 408-39. Active in the physical rescue of slaves were such figures as Brown, Garnet, Henson, Purvis, Ray, Smith, Still, and that celebrated "Moses of her people," Harriet Tubman. Consult, Siebert, *Underground Railroad*, and Still, *Underground Railroad*. See also Aptheker, *Negro in the Abolitionist Movement*, and Earl Conrad, *Harriet Tubman* (Washington, 1943). Important also were the first major breaches in the segregation pattern in public conveyances in large Northern cities, accomplished by the efforts of Still and Pennington, and the first successful attack, by Nell, upon discrimination in federal employment. *DAB*, XIII, 413; XIV, 441; XVIII, 22; *Negro Hist. Bull.*, V (November, December, 1941), 31, 50-51. The period also saw the establishment, under the leadership of the persons on this list, of a number of institutions for Negroes, including the YMCA, schools and colleges, and homes for orphans, the indigent, and the aged. Notice should also be taken of the important "Convention Movement," in which nearly all of the foregoing antislavery advocates participated in some degree, at first under the chairmanship of Richard Allen and later under Frederick Douglass. Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.*, pp. 79 f.

The efforts of the colored abolitionists were significantly correlated because the individuals were sponsored operatives, but differences over strategy and tactics often divided them, reflecting both diverse philosophies and friction between rival leaders surprisingly jealous of each other. They disagreed about the wisdom of working through political parties, of establishing an independent Negro abolitionist press, and even about the pace of the campaign.¹⁶

Of the thirty-seven selected for this period, fourteen were born in slavery, fourteen were Northern free-born persons, another was fathered by a white man in Jamaica, and eight (at least seven of whom were predominantly white) were born free in the South. Eight of the whole number are presumed to have been unmixed blacks or nearly so; the racial make-up of five others is not known; all the rest are considered mulattoes. Only two of the slaves remained in servitude, one was freed under the New York manumission laws, one by voluntary manumission, two by purchase, and eight are known to have fled—all of them from border states. Five of the thirty-seven were Southerners who attained prominence by performance in the South, but none came into the section from elsewhere. Seven made their major accomplishments abroad (Aldridge, Roberts, Russwurm, Royce, Saunders, Séjour, and Thierry), and of these, three had left the South, four the North. A number of the group are noted for accomplishments both in the North and in other countries, and the remainder for work in the North alone, eleven of them original Northerners and the others Southerners.

This group exhibits extreme variations in educational attainment. Three were illiterate (Tubman, Truth, and Scott), while nine achieved literacy without elementary school instruction. All in both these categories had once been slaves. Of the remaining twenty-five, the educational history of five is not known, and the other twenty had at least some common school education. Only three did so in the South: Roberts, who was at least seven-eighths white, and Séjour and Thierry, both born to means and identified with French-Creole stock rather than the Negro race. Those who attended elementary schools in the North went to standard public schools, public schools for Negroes, or special schools established for free persons of color by manumission societies, Quakers, or other friends of the race. Several attended secondary and higher schools, all of them white men's academies and col-

¹⁶ Douglass himself at first opposed the use of party politics and a Negro press but later became an active worker in the Liberty party and the founder of the *North Star*. Garnet, an example of the fate of a general too far in advance of his troops, was repudiated as too radical, though he had previously been a national figure in the cause and is described by one authority as the "forerunner of Douglass, who assumed eventually, the leadership of the movement for which Garnet deserved credit." William Brewer, "Henry Highland Garnet," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XIII (January, 1928), 36-52; *DAB*, VII, 154.

leges. The period had in Russwurm (Bowdoin, '26) the first Negro college graduate, and at least ten others in this generation were college-trained.¹⁷

IV

The race's adjustment to the changed conditions after 1865 was conservative, and the leaders in this period, 1865-1900, typified by Booker T. Washington, were dedicated to the moral and intellectual improvement of their people.¹⁸ Now began also the movement northward and cityward, the growth in the number of literates (from an estimated tenth of the Negro population in 1860 to more than a half in 1900 and seven eighths in 1930),¹⁹ the proliferation of schools, and the maturing of universities like Fisk and Howard, Wilberforce, Atlanta, and Shaw. The social history of the nation was dominated during the period by rapid industrialization and urbanization and the cooling of ante-bellum enthusiasms. The Negroes were now all but deserted by their old white allies and such note as their gifted sons might win must be achieved in a nation that had lost interest in the race's redemption.

Sixty-one in the gallery of eminent Negroes fall in this period. Of these, thirty-three owed their chief recognition to political careers, most of them in the South. Little has been claimed for the colored political figures beyond the fact that the mere act of attaining these posts and then occupying them for the most part with dignity and quiet efficiency under hostile pressures was itself a distinction. Though most Negro officeholders served in local

¹⁷ On the schools available to Negroes, see Carter G. Woodson, *Education of Negroes before 1861* (New York, 1915), and Horace M. Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (New York, 1934). Aldridge and Smith attended the University of Glasgow, Smith taking the A.B., A.M., and M.D. degrees there. Séjour went to college in Paris, Pennington took a D.D. degree at Heidelberg while still legally a fugitive slave, Delaney obtained a medical education at Harvard, and Purvis was for a time a student at Amherst. Three of the group had theological training at first-rank seminaries (Brown, Ray, and Crummell), and four attended Quaker Beriah Green's Oneida Institute, Oneida, New York.

¹⁸ Not only because the eras 1865-1900 and 1901-1936 possess sufficient individuality to tolerate such periodization but also because each of these 35-year periods comprises a "turnover" of the Negro population, so that by 1900 one full generation, and by 1936 two generations had passed on since Emancipation, the writer has been willing to assume the hazards that such categories always invite. It must be emphasized, however, that the lives of many of the notables naturally ran from one period into the next. Alexander Crummell and Frederick Douglass were, for example, listed as antislavery workers in the pre-Civil War generation, but their very important careers ran on until nearly the close of the next period. (Douglass died in 1895 and Crummell in 1898.) And Booker Washington's emergence into national prominence as late as 1895 is pointed out in qualification of the thesis that he "typified" the post-Civil War generation. Throughout that entire era, moreover, the doctrine of conciliation and compromise was under militant attack by such massive figures as Crummell and Douglass, to say nothing of the Negro conventions of the 1870's and 1880's in which the leading Negroes of the period participated. The opposition to Washington's program during the period is perhaps as frequently played down as is the significance of his role as an intermediary between the two races. For an extreme statement characterizing Washington in the latter role rather than as the voice of the Negro, see William E. B. DuBois, *Dusk of Dawn* (New York, 1940), and *Souls of Black Folk*.

¹⁹ Israel Gerver, *The Changing Position of the Negro and Other Minorities in the United States* (New York, 1949), pp. 5-6.

and state government, the outstanding ones are the twenty-two who reached Congress, three important state officials, seven ministers to Liberia or Haiti, and one leader of Negro migrants to the West who was a political figure only in a very limited sense.²⁰

If we leave out of account, for want of biographical details, the five least known of these political figures, who served in Liberia and Haiti, we find that fifteen of the remaining twenty-eight public officers were born in slavery, ten were born free in the South, and but three were Northerners. Only four of the slaves had escaped by running away (all of them during the war), one had been purchased by his father in childhood, and the remaining ten were freed by federal law. The twenty-eight included only five—two of the very ablest among them—who are considered full-blooded Negroes, and all the rest were mulattoes, at least five of them the natural sons of white fathers. Singleton, who never held public office, was the only illiterate, and about a fourth of the group later described themselves as self-educated. Another quarter secured substantial elementary training in common schools or by private instruction, and nearly half had at least some college training.

This period marks the return of religious leaders to something like their old preponderance. A notable contrast with the earlier periods is the fact that all but two of this group of fourteen won distinction in the South, a region that now opened up in the wake of Emancipation a vast Negro religious frontier, while in the North the major religious structure had been completed.²¹ The education of this new generation of churchmen was not at first

²⁰ The Negroes in Congress were Senators Hiram R. Revels* and Blanche K. Bruce,* and the following Representatives: Richard H. Cain,* Henry P. Cheatham, Robert C. DeLarge, Robert B. Elliott, Jeremiah Haralson, John A. Hyman, Jefferson Long, John R. Lynch, Thomas E. Miller, Charles E. Nash, James E. O'Hara, Joseph R. Rainey,* Alonzo J. Ransier, James T. Rapier, Robert Smalls,* Benjamin S. Turner, Josiah T. Walls, George H. White, James M. Turner,* George W. Murray. The best remembered officeholders below the federal level were Francis L. Cardozo, Jonathan Jasper Wright,* and P. B. S. Pinchback.* The writer extends the list of famous Negroes beyond the *DAB* selections to include all those who served in the Congress during the period because their names appear prominently in the Basic Bibliography, as does that of Francis L. Cardozo, who served for a time as secretary of state for South Carolina and later as state treasurer. The best known diplomats (except Frederick Douglass, who was for a while minister to Haiti) were John M. Langston* and John Henry Smyth,* who served respectively in Haiti and Liberia. Far less widely noticed now are five others who are listed here because of the responsible positions they held rather than for their surviving reputation as Negro celebrities: the careers as ministers to Haiti of J. E. W. Thompson, William F. Powell, and Henry W. Furness, and of E. E. Smith and Ernest W. Lyon as ministers to Liberia fall in this period and a little beyond. Cain, Wright, and Turner, and possibly others, were famous Negroes even before going to Congress. Benjamin ("Pap") Singleton was the principal figure in the mass migration of Negroes from the Cotton South to Kansas, 1876-1879, a futile effort to establish a separate community for the freedmen in the West. John E. Van Deusen, "The Exodus of 1879," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXI (April, 1936), 111-29; Walter Lynwood Fleming, "'Pap' Singleton, the Moses of the Exodus," *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, XV (July, 1909), 61-82. An account of Negro Reconstruction figures is Samuel D. Smith, *The Negro in Congress, 1870-1901* (Chapel Hill, 1940).

²¹ By 1900 the South also had a full range of religious institutions for Negroes, and there-

superior to that of earlier days, but later there was an impressive advance. In the earlier decades nearly all the leading divines were self-taught, while in the later years of the period the eight whose "peak years" came at the time had, with only two exceptions, college or seminary training or both. Notable also is the preoccupation of these men with labors beyond their pastoral duties, as leaders in the religious press, in the founding and directing of the multiplying sectarian colleges, and the building of vast Sunday school and mission programs. The clergy's relative withdrawal from the struggle for Negro rights conformed to the dominant trend toward accommodation and the effort to equip the race for responsible exercise of the gains they had made before pressing for further advances. Seven of the fourteen had been slaves; only one is known to have been a dark Negro.

The remaining names for this generation are (a) four in learned professions, (b) three in literature, (c) four in business and industry, (d) and three in the fine arts.²² Easily the most famous was Booker T. Washington, who in the year that Douglass died (1895) succeeded him as a sort of

after in neither the South nor the North did the religious leaders stand out so prominently among the most conspicuous personalities. The high proportion of church leaders among Negroes listed in *Who's Who* in recent decades must be understood as reflecting the mode of selecting persons for inclusion rather than necessarily the renown of the clergymen listed. The fourteen in our list for this period were Richard H. Boyd,* Wesley J. Gaines,* James T. Holly,* James W. Hood,* Lucius H. Holsey,* Emanuel K. Love,* Christopher H. Payne,* Daniel A. Payne,* Rufus L. Perry,* Daniel J. Sanders,* Benjamin T. Tanner,* Marshall W. Taylor,* Henry MacNeal Turner,* and Alexander Wayman.* Holly, an eccentric in the group, became an intense Negro nationalist, having been an active antislavery leader before the war, and made his chief career as bishop of Haiti in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

²² (a) Richard T. Greener* and Archibald Grimké,* lawyers and Negro rights spokesmen; Booker T. Washington*; George Washington Williams,* a lawyer better known as a historian. See John Hope Franklin, "George Washington Williams, Historian," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXXI (January, 1946), 60-90. (b) Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, Albery Allison Whitman,* and Paul Laurence Dunbar,* poets. The inclusion of Mrs. Watkins in this group is urged by the Basic Bibliography. See, e.g., Loggins, *Negro Author*, pp. 245-48 and *passim*, and Franklin, *Slavery to Freedom*, p. 404. Dunbar, a poet of the first rank, falls into the "accommodationist" pattern that marks the period. Neglecting Negro themes, he felt compelled to write for whites curious to know what a black writer could achieve. Benjamin Brawley, *Paul Laurence Dunbar, Poet of his People* (Chapel Hill, 1936), p. 77; Loggins, pp. 245-48, 313-17, 320-26, 336-51. (c) Thomy Lafon,* capitalist and philanthropist of New Orleans, of predominantly French-Haitian ancestry; James Wormley,* a Washington hotel-keeper; Elijah McCoy* and Jan Matzeliger,* inventors. (d) Edmonia Lewis, the foremost Negro sculptor of the period; Edwin M. Bannister, the leading painter; Sissieretta Jones, the most accomplished concert singer. All three were professionals, trained in much the same way that white artists were and enjoying much the same critical reception. Miss Lewis and Bannister had studios of their own; Miss Jones found after a brief career that, in spite of sound professional training, high critical acclaim, and a concert appearance at the White House (1892), the public was as yet unwilling to support a Negro concert artist, and she stepped down to a role in her own musical comedy company, "Black Patti's Troubadours." A strong case could be made for extending the list to include three more artists: Marie Selika and Flora Batson, singers, and R. S. Duncanson, painter; and frequently mentioned in Negro social history is Thomas ("Blind Tom") Bethune, a pianist whose technical skill, in view of his handicap, entitles him to mention as a prodigy, though not as a virtuoso. The writer was moved to choose only Edmonia Lewis, Edwin M. Bannister, and Sissieretta Jones for his list on the basis of his analysis of the Basic Bibliography. On Negro art and music see especially Brawley, *Negro Genius*; Alain Locke, *The Negro in Art* (Washington, 1940) and *The Negro and His Music* (Washington, 1936); Maude Cuncy Hare, *Negro Musicians and Their Music* (Washington, 1936).

charismatic leader, thanks in large measure to his widely noticed Atlanta speech affirming that "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." Washington's long career as head of Tuskegee Institute, emphasizing vocational training, and his thesis that the Negro should earn his status as a first-class citizen by demonstrating his usefulness rather than press for further concessions made him until his death in 1915 the most influential voice of the great mass of his people. By then, however, his influence had waned before the mounting spirit of protest and aggressive demand for Negro rights for which a new generation of intellectuals were the leaders. Washington was perhaps the most powerful political personage in the South in his day, when the national administration was Republican.²³

In the above group of fourteen, three were born in slavery, eleven free (five in the North, three in the South, two in Canada, and one in Dutch Guiana). Only two were pure blacks (Dunbar and McCoy), and some, like Washington, Grimké, and Matzeliger, were fathered out of wedlock by white men. Only Washington and Lafon (both of them especially acceptable to whites) came to prominence in the South; five of the other twelve were original Northerners, and six had come to the North from the South or from other countries.

V

In the recent period, 1900-1936, the outlines of Negro leadership exhibited both the changing social climate of America and a profound mutation in Negro life. With waxing urbanization, education, and economic differentiation came the familiar American counterpart of growing specialization and expertness. Gone now was the era when a man because of rocklike character or a few years at Oberlin could step forth as a race leader. And with the new aggressive Americanism of the whites, intolerant of difference and suspicious of alien influences, there developed that chauvinistic hundred-percentism

²³ His role also conformed to another important quality of the times. This was pre-eminently the time in the history of Negro-white relations when the formula for defining precisely the economic and social relationships between the races was the central issue—an issue that had been all but irrelevant heretofore. The sharp contrast between Douglass' doctrine of challenge and Washington's philosophy of accommodation-with-a-price elicited from Kelly Miller, a leading Negro scholar who took the middle ground himself, a significant explanation: "Douglass lived in a day of moral giants; Washington lives in the era of merchant princes." Douglass in his day was constantly hearing talk of the equality of men; Washington was engulfed in talk of the Negro's inferiority. And if men will not serve their times they are not permitted to serve at all. Miller points out also that Douglass was a fugitive from slavery, while Washington had been freed by the white man's laws; that Douglass' stress on the Negro's rights and the white man's sins was appropriate to his time, while in Washington's day the better emphasis seemed to be on the Negro's own duties and shortcomings. See Kelly Miller, *Race Adjustment* (New York, 1910), p. 192; Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.*, pp. 540-47; Guy B. Johnson, "Negro Racial Movements," *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, XLIII, 57-71.

and belief in Anglo-Saxon superiority, which, because they had small place for the Negro, evoked the response so familiar in the history of colonialism. The colonial had grown too much like the national to be held to second-class citizenship. There emerged an aggressive Negro Americanism that saw the Tuskegee idea challenged by the Niagara Movement and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a mounting determination, accelerated by the race's participation in the War to Make the World Safe for Democracy, to become Negro Americans as well as American Negroes.

When death ended Washington's declining leadership, it was no longer possible for one person to be so nearly the voice of the race as he had been. The issue, now sharply joined, of conciliation versus demand for full rights widened the gulf between two major camps, making it impossible to agree upon a leader. Indeed, differences of degree within each camp made it impossible for any one Negro to speak for either side, though William E. B. DuBois was in a sense the spokesman for the left and Robert Russa Moton, Washington's successor at Tuskegee, for the right. Moreover, the maturing of Negro American civilization, fostered especially by the emergence of well-defined Negro communities in Northern cities, and by advances in special and general education as well as by increasing occupational diversification, rendered Negro life an ever more faithful facsimile of white society with all its social differentiations and stratifications. So far did this development proceed that facile generalizations about "The Negro" or "The Negro Mind" no longer hit the mark. Such a social order inevitably produced "functional leaders" instead of another Washington. A man would now be a leading writer, or scientist, or artist, rather than a "leading Negro"; and his position in the race would be determined more by the outlook and ideology of the group of which he was a part, and less by his own tendency to conciliation or challenge.²⁴

The standards for eminence were now much higher. Thousands served as gallantly in France as Salem Poor at Bunker Hill, but their names are not remembered; scores of Negro physicians in 1930 were perhaps in every way superior to James Derham but never known beyond their county lines. It was no longer enough, it was no longer possible, to be the first to enter a field and astonish the world with proof that here too the Negro could perform like a man. Now the writer no longer wrote to show incredulous whites what a Negro could do; he wrote for the same reasons, for the same publishers, and increasingly for the same public for whom white writers,

²⁴ Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.*, chap. xxi.

now his rivals, wrote. In the new era the Negro artist, scientist, or scholar was no longer an untaught prodigy or zealot, pushed forward by latter-day abolitionists beseeching the nation to measure him against his handicap. In growing measure he was the trained specialist, competing now with whites in the same exhibitions, the same scholarly journals, the same professional associations.

This is not to say that the day had arrived when competition for distinction was to be conducted wholly on the principle of equal opportunity. The distinguished Negro still felt constrained to confine himself to Negro themes, often working under Negro auspices, but the standards of excellence began to match those of the whites and sometimes to exceed them, for more spectacular performance was required of the Negro genius as the price of eminence in the white man's world than that exacted of his white colleagues. But it was now eminence in the white man's world. In this juncture with the main stream at a few critical points is the significant, the most portentous, attribute of the newer leadership. The change is more qualitative than quantitative. Perhaps the number of Negroes who were now "famous" was not larger, proportionately, than the number a century earlier; but the point is that the celebrity in the past (unless, like Washington, he stood astride the color line as a negotiator for both sides) was usually a hero only to the Negro and a small fringe of reformers and liberals, and for works wrought in the Negro community. In the newer era the few who did break through the barriers of caste emerged on a different plane, as eminent American artists, scholars, writers, religious leaders, rather than merely as outstanding Negroes.

After 1900 it becomes more difficult to identify the foremost Negroes, and among the ninety-one persons here selected are several chosen for their representative character. Even the serious business of race work was coming to be left to the professionals of the NAACP, the Urban League, the institutional church, the inter-racial commissions, staffed with full-time officials. The writer, the artist, the businessman, the educator had not abdicated responsibility for race improvement, but he lent his weight to the cause now as a member or trustee of organized agencies demanded by a more specialized age.²⁵

Ten names in the field of scholarship, for example, represent men noted

²⁵ Other eminent Negroes, not mentioned elsewhere in this study, whom it seems appropriate to add here to this paper's roster because of their leadership in important segments of Negro opinion and in the larger campaign to promote the race's progress were Eugene Kinckle Jones, a major figure in the National Urban League; Mary Church Terrell, long a foremost personality in the Negro advance movement and first president of the National Association of Colored Women; and two newspaper publishers—William Monroe Trotter of the crusading *Boston Guardian*, and Robert S. Abbott, founder and publisher of the militant *Chicago Defender*.

in the scholarly world as competent, creative craftsmen rather than as mere able Negroes. Much the same may be said of nine associated with the administration of educational institutions. Similarly, after 1900—especially after 1915—one finds a lengthening list of sophisticated, usually soundly educated, sometimes passionately protestant, and always talented and technically skilled literary artists. At least fourteen names for the period 1900–1936 should be noted, and perhaps many more. “The Negro as a creator in American literature is of comparatively recent importance,” said the foremost colored literary critic of the first quarter of this century. “All that was accomplished between Phillis Wheatley and Paul Laurence Dunbar, considered by critical standards, is negligible, and of historical interest only.”²⁶

²⁶ William Stanley Braithwaite, “The Negro in American Literature,” in Alain Locke, ed., *The New Negro* (New York, 1925), p. 36. The ten listed in the present paper as scholars are William S. Scarborough,* Benjamin Brawley, E. Franklin Frazier, Charles S. Johnson, Alain Locke, Carter G. Woodson, George W. Ellis,* William E. B. DuBois, Charles H. Wesley, and George Young.* Young is more accurately described as a bibliophile but for convenience is grouped here with the scholars. The nine educators are James K. Aggrey,* Robert Shaw Wilkin-son,* Mary McLeod Bethune, John Hope, Mordecai Johnson, Robert Russa Moton, William T. B. Williamson, Kelly Miller, and Monroe N. Work. The latter two might with equal logic be grouped with the scholars. The writers are Charles W. Chesnutt, James D. Corrothers,* Rudolph Fisher, William Stanley Braithwaite, Arna Bontemps, Sterling Brown, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson, Walter White, Claude McKay, Jessie Fauset, Jean Toomer, and Zora Neale Hurston. Johnson and White were also known as executive secretaries of the NAACP. This company of thirty-three Negro intellectuals secured the great bulk of its professional training in Northern universities and earned at least fifty-six degrees in a score of the nation's foremost seats of learning (including Harvard, Yale, Hopkins, Chicago, Brown, Williams, Cornell, Pennsylvania, Barnard, Oberlin, New York, and Negro universities like Howard, Fisk, and Atlanta), and several had further study at other schools, including Columbia and Wisconsin, and abroad. Several were members of Phi Beta Kappa and a fraction were holders of Guggenheim and university fellowships including a Rhodes Scholarship. Of the nineteen scholars and educators, sixteen had been born in the South, one in Africa, and two in the North, while ten of the fourteen writers had been born in the North, three in the South, and one in the West Indies. All of the writers made their careers in large Northern cities, half of them in New York City, while most of the scholars and all of the educational leaders were attached to Negro institutions in the South or in Washington, with the single exception of Aggrey, who made his name in Africa. These creative Negroes, trained in the tradition and producing by the standards of white leaders in thought and letters, did not become national figures known to the millions, but the same may be said of white leaders in the same fields. What was new and significant was the degree to which Negroes were being recognized in those fields as participants in the American culture itself, not in an American subculture. The seven scholars not drawn from the *DAB* were sifted from the Basic Bibliography and further evaluated by examination of the critical reception accorded their published works by reviewers in professional and semiprofessional periodicals; analyses of biographical sketches in *Who's Who in America*; reference to the list of winners of the Harmon and Spingarn awards; and examination of the volumes of the *Negro Year Book* and the *Negro Handbook*. It may be argued that Frazier was in 1936 still an emergent leader in Negro scholarship, not yet established. The inclusion, among the educators, of Mrs. Bethune, John Hope, Robert Russa Moton, and Mordecai W. Johnson will scarcely be challenged, and W. T. B. Williams' stature as a leading figure in education was recognized in 1934 by his designation as the recipient of the Harmon Award for that year. The writers of belles lettres suggested by the Basic Bibliography, *Who's Who in America*, and critical reviews, were reduced to the list here offered after consulting such works as Robert E. Spiller, *et al.*, eds., *Literary History of the United States* (3 vols., New York, 1949); Locke, *New Negro*; James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (New York, 1930); Sterling Brown, *et al.*, eds., *Negro Caravan* (New York, 1941); Victor Francis Calverton, *Anthology of American Negro Poetry* (New York, 1929). Perhaps at the close of the period here under scrutiny younger writers like Arna Bontemps and Zora Neale Hurston were as yet more notable for their promise than for their performance, but

In music the same drift into the main stream is manifest. In addition to the leading position that Negroes began to assume in lighter entertainment—notably in the development of jazz, sometimes described as the only major innovation in music that America had yet produced—the postwar period witnessed the flowering of serious music in a brilliant company of vocal artists, composers, and instrumentalists. A crude measure of their acceptance as major artists is afforded by the fact that by 1941, five years after the close of this period, three Negroes (Marian Anderson, Paul Robeson, and Dorothy Maynor) were among the ten most highly paid concert artists in America,²⁷ and a fourth (Roland Hayes, by then in his fifties) followed close behind.

Dramatic artists had not yet been accorded similar recognition in the nation's theaters, though seven stand out with sufficient prominence to be included in the list. All found their race a desperate handicap in their quest for roles worthy of their talents, and that circumstance operated to deter talented young Negroes from acquiring the professional training that was fast becoming a prerequisite for success in the theater. Richard B. Harrison found in *The Green Pastures* the only important role in his career when he was already sixty-five, and Robeson was able to secure some measure of recognition, notably in the roles of *Othello* and *The Emperor Jones*, only after spectacular dramatic successes abroad. Earlier, Bert Williams, a mulatto, had to "black up" and to become a close student of the public's Negro stereotype; and though he won great financial success he died without realizing his long-cherished hope to "stop doing piffle, and interpret the *real* Negro on the stage."²⁸

the Basic Bibliography suggests substantial recognition for them by 1936 and Zora Hurston had already (1935) produced what has been called "the finest single book in American folklore." Alan Lomax, quoted in Spiller, *et al.*, *Literary History of the U. S.*, II, 749.

²⁷ *Time*, May 11, 1942, p. 53. Until the postwar portion of this period the most conspicuous name was perhaps that of James R. Europe, a pioneer in the establishment of the jazz band as a major American institution who later became especially noted as a United States Army Band leader overseas. But in the succeeding decade and a half came a more noteworthy group of artists—characteristically highly trained musicians, received not as Negro curiosities but as authentic American artists; singers like Marian Anderson, Paul Robeson, and Roland Hayes; symphonic composers like William L. Dawson and William Grant Still; composers and arrangers of songs like Harry T. Burleigh, Will Marion Cook, Nathaniel Dett, and J. Rosamond Johnson; W. C. Handy, creator of "the blues"; and Clarence Cameron White, violinist-composer. Paralleling the development of other forms of self-expression, these artists, like any comparable group of white musicians, were thoroughly educated at such institutions as the Chicago College of Music, the New England Conservatory, the American Conservatory, and the Oberlin Conservatory; and many of them had, in addition, college degrees, and some had supplemented their American training with study abroad. This list of eminent Negroes would have been much longer, of course, if the fields of popular music and sports had not, for the sake of brevity, been almost wholly excluded from the study. Support for the compiler's selection of leaders from the field of music may be found in the volumes of the *Negro Year Book*; *Who's Who in America*; Hare, *Negro Musicians and Their Music*; Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, II, 989; Brawley, *Negro Genius*; and Franklin, *Slavery to Freedom*, pp. 500, 509.

²⁸ *DAB*, XX, 249. In the drama the most considerable names seem to have been Charles Gilpin,* Rose McLendon, Richard B. Harrison,* and Paul Robeson; and in the world of musicals

In the fine arts a half-dozen names are noteworthy, though others might be added, and in the sciences six may be instanced as examples of Negro leaders who illustrate the drift into the main stream. The artists were painters and sculptors with the same professional training as that enjoyed by whites, the same critical approbation; and, though their race sometimes proved an obstacle to entering exhibitions and winning commissions, their recognition rested on their very considerable promise and performance as foremost American artists. The scientists, likewise, were men of superior professional education, distinguished not as Negroes but as scientists working in laboratory and academic roles comparable to those of their white fellows. George W. Carver became so well known that by 1930 millions of white Americans who could not name another native American scientist could recognize him without hesitation.²⁹

If the ten religious leaders of the period who seem to appear most prominently in the record be taken as representative of new trends, a pattern emerges. The spirit of conciliation and quietism, the disposition to labor in the Negro enclave, recedes before a notable tendency to play roles in both the religious and secular life of the nation as a whole.³⁰ Particularly as the

and light comedy, Florence Mills, Bob Cole, and Bert Williams.* The all-Negro cast of *The Green Pastures* constantly encountered during its immensely popular five-year run the sort of unendurable discrimination in hotels, restaurants, and public carriers that frustrated the progress of Negro actors. *Time*, Mar. 4, 1935, p. 35. Robeson at one level and Bob Cole at quite another have no serious rivals in the Basic Bibliography for inclusion with those already supplied by the *DAB* from the realm of the stage, and the author concludes from Brawley, *Negro Genius*, and Johnson, *Black Manhattan*, that Rose McLendon and Florence Mills stand out.

²⁹ The artists were May Howard Jackson, Meta Warrick Fuller, and Augusta Savage, sculptors; Henry Ossawa Tanner, William Eduoard Scott, painters; and Richmond Barthé, who won distinction both as a painter and a sculptor. Mrs. Fuller was commonly regarded as the foremost sculptor of the race in her day, and at the end of the period Tanner, who early in his career had removed to France, had for three decades been regarded as the greatest artist that American Negroes had produced, and the Basic Bibliography, supplemented by Locke, *The Negro in Art*, leaves little doubt that at the level next below him first rank should be accorded to those named. All of the group had, in addition to private study under masters, been trained at such centers as the Chicago Art Institute, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and Cooper Union. Only one of the artists had been born in the South, and none of them made his career there. The scientists were Carver; Daniel Hale Williams,* cardiac surgeon; William A. Hinton and Julian H. Lewis, pathologists; Elmer Imes, physicist; and Ernest E. Just, zoologist. All of these scientists had their advanced professional training in Northern universities; three of them became associated with Negro institutions in the South (Carver at Tuskegee, Imes at Fisk, and Just at Howard), and three with Northern institutions or agencies in the hands of whites. Carver's unusual fame is sometimes explained as resulting from a favorable white press, pleased with his humble demeanor and appearance and his quiet role as a "good Negro" tending strictly to his work in self-imposed segregation at Tuskegee. Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.*, p. 561. Williams, on the other hand, a genuinely important figure in medicine in the early years of the century and at the same time a crusader for Negro rights in medicine, enjoyed no such publicity and is virtually unknown to white Americans outside his profession. Authority for the selection of the scientists here listed may be found by checking the lists supplied in Franklin, *Slavery to Freedom*, p. 543, and Woodson, *Negro in Our History*, pp. 560-61, against the life sketches in *Who's Who in America* and by comparison with other works in the Basic Bibliography.

³⁰ Those selected here from the most prominent figures in religious life are George W. Clinton,* Henry Hugh Proctor,* James S. Russell,* Alexander Walters,* Francis J. Grimké,

period advanced, they were men of extensive professional education, heads of vast institutional churches, significant civic leaders in their own communities, leaders in Negro improvement associations and also in great national religious and humanitarian agencies that encompassed Negroes and whites alike.

Two fields in which outstanding Negroes found the color line more difficult to cross were the economic and the military. An occasional inventor was useful to great corporations operating outside the "separate economy," but for the rest the Negro in business and industry was largely limited to serving the Negro community. In the military, the race watched with pride the career of its first son to become a colonel in the regular army, West-Point-trained Charles Young, only to see him passed over when commands were assigned and colonels whom he outranked promoted over his head during the First World War. High public office was also as yet a virtually closed preserve.³¹

Richard Robert Wright, Jr., Robert E. Jones, William N. DeBerry, Lacy K. Williams, and Channing Tobias. The Basic Bibliography and the lists of Harmon and Spingarn award winners point strongly to their pre-eminence. The range of activities and the influence of these men is suggested in the sketches of the first four in the *DAB* and of the latter six in *Who's Who in America*, XIII, XIX-XXII.

³¹ The only Negro from the world of business and industry in this period listed in the *DAB* is Sarah Breedlove Walker,* founder and president of the Madame C. J. Walker Laboratories, Indianapolis, manufacturers of hair and skin preparations for Negroes. Granville Woods, evidently the most celebrated inventor that the race had produced in America, also belongs to this period. See Baker, "Negro in the Field of Invention," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, II, 21-36. The most important enterprises came to be financial institutions, notably banks and insurance companies, headed by such leaders as Jesse Binga and Anthony Overton of Chicago, C. C. Spaulding of Raleigh, N. C., S. W. Rutherford of Washington, Joseph E. Walker of Memphis, Maggie Lena Walker of Richmond, A. F. Herndon of Atlanta, and Richard Robert Wright of Philadelphia, all of whom successfully developed a segment of the American economy hitherto neglected by white entrepreneurs who considered Negroes poor risks. But the grave want of capital, credit, and business training handicapped the Negro enterpriser even in the separate economy. As late as 1950 the grocery trade in the heart of the Negro community was still dominated by white retailers. The names listed here were sifted from the Basic Bibliography. On the persistence of the separate economy and the obstacles confronting the Negro businessman even there, see Robert H. Kinzer and Edward Sagarin, *The Negro in American Business* (New York, 1950); Abram S. Harris, *The Negro as Capitalist: A Study of Banking and Business among American Negroes* (Philadelphia, 1936); Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.*, pp. 409 ff.; Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, I, 307 ff. Col. Young won distinction in the war with Spain, and with the Tenth Cavalry in the expedition to Mexico. When, during World War I, he was placed on the retired list "for reasons of health," it was widely deplored as a ruse for denying to a soldier, because of his color, a promotion to the rank of brigadier general which could no longer in good conscience be postponed. When the period of this study ended, one Negro, Benjamin Davis, held the rank of colonel in the regular army. On October 25, 1940, he became the first Negro to reach the rank of brigadier general, but the promotion was made so near to election day that many saw a connection between the two events. *Crisis*, XXIII (February, 1922), 155; *Negro Digest*, IX (November, 1950), 29-33; Franklin, *Slavery to Freedom*, pp. 448, 560. One name that should be added to the list of prominent Negroes in the generation before 1936 is that of Oscar DePriest, of Chicago, who signalized the Negro's return to Congress in 1929. It is appropriate here to add also two early holders of responsible offices under presidential appointment: William H. Lewis, a distinguished Boston lawyer appointed by William Howard Taft as an Assistant Attorney General of the United States, and Robert H. Terrell, chosen by Woodrow Wilson as judge of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia.

For the whole list of prominent Negroes of the period 1900-1936 satisfactory data concerning the proportion of blacks and mulattoes are not available. Such information as can be assembled points again to a high preponderance of the latter over the former, but by this time the degree of intermixture in the race as a whole had become so great as to give the distinction even less significance than any it may have had in the earlier periods. But, light or dark, leaders of the race still had to rest their claims to distinction primarily on achievements in the Negro community, a limitation imposed as much by the resistances and rigidities of the larger American social frame as by the immense deficit in training and social inheritance with which the most talented and industrious embarked upon his calling.

Yet, though a vast distance still stretched before them, the distinguished Negroes of 1936 stood measurably closer to the ideal than did those of a century before. The new generation of leaders included many who could recall a childhood in bondage, and most were only a generation or two removed from slavery, yet no characteristic was more marked than their growing conformity to the American model of trained specialists. So rapid a rise from such inauspicious social origins gave the eminent Negro a special importance as a race hero, at once the best inspiration to lowly millions, the best rejoinder to affirmations of racial inferiority, the best presage of the race's progress toward greater participation in American life.

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Bismarck and German Nationalism

OTTO PFLANZE

I

THE Nazi revolution and the ruin which it brought have placed in doubt many of the previous assumptions of German historical thought.¹ Of the several problems for which new solutions must be sought one of the most important concerns the influence of Bismarck.² Does he share responsibility for the growth of that inverted nationalism upon which Hitler rode to power and conquest?

The question of Bismarck's nationalism has long been the subject of speculation and controversy. According to one school of interpretation, whose chief representatives were Heinrich Friedjung and Erich Brandenburg,³ he adopted a German national outlook early in his career, certainly after 1851 when he became Prussian delegate to the German Bundestag in Frankfurt. This viewpoint has proved tenacious. Recently it appeared again in an article by Otto Becker published in the *Historische Zeitschrift*.⁴ Following the same tradition, A. O. Meyer, author of the most recent biography, took an even more extreme position. To him it appeared axiomatic that the great Prussian Junker was motivated throughout his career by a German national patriotism which was as fundamental to his thought and action as his Lutheran faith and his monarchical loyalty.⁵

From the evidence, however, it is apparent that before 1866 Bismarck gave his primary allegiance to the Prussian state and monarchy. Therefore, Max Lenz, Erich Marcks,⁶ and Friedrich Meinecke⁷ concluded that his con-

¹ In a shortened version this article was read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, December, 1953. The author wishes to express his appreciation to the American Council of Learned Societies for a grant which made possible some of the necessary research.

² For reviews of the literature on this subject see: Andreas Dorpalen, "The German Historians and Bismarck," *Review of Politics*, XV (1953), 53-67, and Hans Kohn, "Re-thinking Recent German History," *ibid.*, XIV (1952), 325-45.

³ H. Friedjung, *Der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft in Deutschland, 1859 bis 1866* (10th ed.; Stuttgart, 1916), I, 141; E. Brandenburg, *Die Reichsgründung* (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1922), II, 30-35.

⁴ "Der Sinn der dualistischen Verständigungsversuche Bismarcks vor dem Kriege 1866," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXIX (1949), 294, 297.

⁵ Arnold O. Meyer, *Bismarck: Der Mensch und der Staatsmann* (Stuttgart, 1949), with an introduction by Hans Rothfels.

⁶ Gustav Schmoller, Max Lenz, Erich Marcks, *Zu Bismarcks Gedächtnis* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 120 ff., 148 ff. See also Max Lenz, *Geschichte Bismarcks* (4th ed.; Munich, 1913), and Erich Marcks, *Der Aufstieg des Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1936), II.

⁷ "Zur Geschichte Bismarcks. II. Bismarcks Eintritt in den christlich-germanischen Kreis," *Historische Zeitschrift*, XC (1903), 56.

version to German nationalism occurred after that date. But this interpretation also left something to be desired. Lenz and Marcks failed to define the character of Bismarck's latent German nationalism. In his *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* Meinecke analyzed brilliantly the phenomenon of nationalism and traced its emergence in nineteenth-century Germany. But his analysis did not extend beyond the year 1866 and hence did not include the mature Bismarck.

Günther Franz and Hans Rothfels, on the other hand, have rejected both of these schools of interpretation.⁸ In their view the fundamental orientation of Bismarck's political thought from the beginning to the end of his career was the state and not the nation. He made no attempt to unite the whole of the German people under a single government and, in fact, foreswore any such ambition, admonishing the Austrian Germans that their future lay not with the Reich but with the peoples of central Europe to whom they were joined by history and geography. In annexing Alsace-Lorraine his primary motive was military security rather than cultural or racial unity. His policy toward Poland was based upon his view of the necessities of state rather than upon national bigotry. In foreign affairs he strove to preserve the European balance of power. Hegemony over Europe and the transformation of Germany into a world power were aims which he specifically rejected.

Since the end of World War II Rothfels has emphatically restated these conclusions. "Everyone who writes about Bismarck knows or should know that the Reich founded by him was neither a unitary nor a national state and that it differed essentially from the idea then dominant, that of the 'nation one and indivisible,' in both of the aspects concerned: the concept of unity as well as that of nationality." The genius of the Wilhelmstrasse has been criticized because he created the German state in opposition to the ideas considered progressive in his day. In Rothfels' opinion, however, he is significant for our times precisely because he was alien to his own century. Bismarck sought to disarm and confine those revolutionary forces which have since threatened our destruction.⁹

Gerhard Ritter takes a similar view. "Bismarck had nothing to do with the nationalism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and its blind fanaticism," he writes. "One cannot possibly stress that fact sharply enough."¹⁰ Although critical on other grounds of Bismarck's solution to the German question,¹¹ Franz Schnabel agrees that Bismarck "had nothing in common

⁸ G. Franz, *Bismarck's Nationalgefühl* (Leipzig, 1926); H. Rothfels, *Bismarck und der Osten* (Leipzig, 1934).

⁹ "Bismarck und das neunzehnte Jahrhundert," in Walther Hubatsch, ed., *Schicksalswege Deutscher Vergangenheit*, Festschrift für Siegfried A. Kaehler (Düsseldorf, 1950), pp. 233-48.

¹⁰ "Das Bismarckproblem," *Merkur*, IV (1950), 669.

¹¹ Schnabel doubts the wisdom of Bismarck's objective, the creation of a unified state (*eines*

with the dictators of the nationalistic period" and that he was completely free of that "*moderne Vaterländerei*" typical of the new national patriotism.¹² Both Ritter and Schnabel see in Bismarck the last great representative of classical diplomacy. Like Richelieu, Frederick the Great, and Metternich, he based his policy on the measured calculations of the reason of state. Since the rise of political democracy, on the other hand, foreign policy has been increasingly determined by the volatile passions of the masses.¹³

If the responsibility does not rest with Bismarck, where does it lie? In answering this question Rothfels has found support for his views in the research of a British historian, Sir Lewis Namier. Although Namier values the liberal tradition, he is highly critical of the revolutionists of 1848. In a study published in 1944 he concluded that German aggressive nationalism "derives from the much belauded Frankfort Parliament rather than from Bismarck and 'Prussianism.'" ¹⁴ In Rothfels' opinion this thesis is a "very creditable advance in historic revisionism."¹⁵ He believes, furthermore, that the Revolution of 1848 was a decisive turning point in European history. It began that vertical development in its institutions which burst the lateral bonds of the old aristocratic order. With the victory of the national over the universal came centralization, collectivization, and authoritarian government. Rothfels tells us that liberalism, rather than conservatism, must bear the blame for this development. Of necessity Bismarck navigated the "stream of time," but he steered against its most dangerous currents, above all that of nationalism.¹⁶

The implications of this thesis for contemporary Germany are apparent. It is particularly important, therefore, that the actual relationship between Bismarck and German nationalism be clarified.

II

Bismarck founded the German Reich not by opposing the idea of nationalism, but by skillfully exploiting it. Although he had bitterly opposed the

in sich geschlossenen Staatskörpers), instead of a central European federation capable of withstanding the pressure of the two great world powers which have since come to dominate Europe. He points to the writings of Constantin Frantz in support of his view that such foresight was possible. "Bismarck und die Nationen," in *Europa und der Nationalismus*, Bericht über das III. internationale Historiker-Treffen in Speyer—17. bis 20. Oktober 1949 (Baden-Baden, 1950), pp. 91–108. For Ritter's reply to this "surprising thesis" see his "Grossdeutsch und Kleindeutsch im 19. Jahrhundert," in Hubatsch, pp. 177–201, and his "Bismarck problem," pp. 660–64.

¹² "Das Problem Bismarck," *Hochland*, XLII (1949), 8–9.

¹³ Franz Schnabel, "Bismarck und die klassische Diplomatie," *Aussenpolitik*, III (1952), 635–42. Gerhard Ritter, *Europa und die Deutsche Frage* (Munich, 1948), pp. 69–108.

¹⁴ "1848: The Revolution of the Intellectuals," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXX (1944), 33.

¹⁵ "Problems of a Bismarck Biography," *Review of Politics*, IX (1947), 368.

¹⁶ "Bismarck und das neunzehnte Jahrhundert," pp. 236 ff.

movement for national unity in 1848-1850, he eventually came to appreciate its potential utility for the Prussian state. While delegate to the German Bundestag during the fifties, he began to realize that Prussia vitally needed support in her struggle against Austria for a greater share in the government of Germany. At first he sought this ally among the great powers of Europe, particularly France and Russia,¹⁷ but by 1858 he had reached the conclusion that the most satisfactory partner was German nationalism.¹⁸ Frustrated by the failure of 1848 and a decade of reaction, the liberals showed a willingness to sacrifice the principle of popular sovereignty in the hope that it would encourage the Prussian monarchy to take up the cause of national unity. Bismarck was quick to sense an advantage. If the expansion in the power of the Prussian state which he so earnestly desired could not be achieved by peaceful means, German nationalism would provide the moral issue with which to justify a war against Austria, the moral *élan* with which to gain the victory, and finally the centripetal force with which to consolidate the new state which would then emerge.

When Bismarck came to office in 1862 there was another important reason for identifying the Prussian monarchy with German nationalism. In its conflict with the Prussian Landtag over the issue of military reform the crown had reached one of the decisive moments in its history. The victory of parliament would have ended monarchical absolutism in Prussia and have unseated the Junker class from the places of power. In order to avoid this fate Bismarck needed a means of reconciling the masses to monarchical rule. He foresaw that this could be achieved by establishing universal suffrage under monarchical auspices and by seizing the banners of the national cause from the hands of the liberals.

Until 1866 Bismarck did not believe that war with Austria was inevitable. He hoped that Prussian expansion could be achieved in agreement with Vienna, in which case the above plan would have been abandoned or seriously modified.¹⁹ When war came he sought to execute his design without

¹⁷ In 1857 Bismarck argued that Prussia should "jump with both feet" into an alliance with France and Russia. Herman von Petersdorff and others, eds., *Bismarck: Die Gesammelten Werke* (Berlin, 1924-35), II, 120. Later he was more cautious, advocating a rapprochement with these powers which would develop into an alliance only if they were ready to go to war against Austria. *Ibid.*, II, 144, 150, 223; XIV (1), 473.

¹⁸ The first indication of a radical change in Bismarck's attitude toward German nationalism is to be seen in his long memorial (*Das kleine Buch*) of March, 1858, addressed to Prince William of Prussia. Here he advocated that Prussia arouse the German public against Austrian policy in the Bundestag through the medium of the press and parliamentary debate. *Ibid.*, II, 302-22. On April 3 he proposed for the first time the creation of a German national parliament for a similar purpose. *Ibid.*, XIV (1), 486-87. In the following year he broached his plan of co-operation to the German liberals of the *Nationalverein*. *Ibid.*, VII, 37-39; also XIV (1), 558-65.

¹⁹ The difficult task of unraveling Bismarck's motives in these crucial years was undertaken by Rudolf Stadelmann. See his *Das Jahr 1865 und das Problem von Bismarcks deutscher Politik* (Munich, 1933). Walter Lipgens has corrected some aspects of the Stadelmann thesis: "Bismarcks

delay, but with limited success. His proposal for a national parliament elected on a popular basis was greeted with incredulity and derision. His attempt to establish contact with prominent German liberals in the first days of the war ended in failure. Because of his role in the Prussian constitutional struggle they were mistrustful of his intentions. The war against Austria, moreover, was a civil war, and hence it was difficult to raise the national issue. Except for the diversion provided by Italy, he was forced to rely for victory upon the discipline, training, and striking power of the Prussian army.

One circumstance alone would have enabled Bismarck to arouse the German masses for a national war under Prussian leadership: foreign intervention. During the crucial months of July and August it appeared that this might occur. To St. Petersburg Bismarck telegraphed that the tsar's insistence upon a European congress over the German question would force Prussia "to unleash the full national strength of Germany and the bordering countries."²⁰ When Alexander interfered a second time, Bismarck restated his threat in even more forceful terms. "Pressure from abroad will compel us to proclaim the German constitution of 1849 and to adopt truly revolutionary measures. If there is to be revolution, we would rather make it than suffer it."²¹ But the greatest danger of intervention came from Paris rather than from St. Petersburg. Repeatedly Bismarck hurled the same warnings at Napoleon III, who demanded compensation for permitting the expansion of Prussia. Rather than cede German soil or part with any of her conquests Prussia would cross the River Main and use "every means" to arouse a national war against France.²² Should Austria join France in a two-front war against Prussia, Bismarck would renew the alliance with Italy and ignite the forces of national revolution within the Habsburg Empire. Prussia would conduct a "war of revolution," he told the Italian General Govone, "We would excite a rebellion in Hungary and organize provisional governments in Prague and Brunn."²³

Österreich-Politik vor 1866," *Die Welt als Geschichte*, X (1950), 240-62. For the year 1866 see Hajo Holborn, "Über die Staatskunst Bismarcks," *Zeitwende*, III (1927), 321-34.

²⁰ *Werke*, VI, 93.

²¹ *Ibid.*, VI, 120.

²² *Ibid.*, VI, 45, 55, 106-13. Boldly he challenged France to a war of revolution, maintaining that in such a conflict the German throne would be more secure than the Napoleonic dynasty. *Ibid.*, VII, 149.

²³ *Ibid.*, VII, 156. As the crisis deepened, Bismarck requested an Italian plenipotentiary be sent to the Prussian headquarters with power to negotiate a treaty containing "further concealed aims." *Ibid.*, VI, 93. It was typical of Bismarck's versatility, however, that he did not consider simultaneous war against Austria and France to be the only possibility which the situation afforded. He also calculated on the possibility of a quick and generous peace with Austria to be followed by a German national war led by both powers against France. Holborn, "Staatskunst," p. 328.

Was Bismarck bluffing? The documents indicate the contrary. Since 1862 he had been in contact with Hungarian nationalists. When war came he pushed energetically the formation of a Magyar legion under the leadership of Klapka, a general of the 1849 revolution.²⁴ Agents were dispatched to the Balkans to arouse the southern Slavs under Serbian leadership.²⁵ Although these efforts were relaxed once the armistice with Austria was signed, they were renewed in early August when the full demands of the French became known.²⁶ Concerning the Czechs and Slovaks Bismarck was more circumspect, not wishing to antagonize the tsar unnecessarily. If Austria had renewed the war, however, he would also have supported their national ambitions.²⁷ Meanwhile, Bismarck felt the pulse of the German nation and gathered that she would follow Prussian leadership in a war against France.²⁸ In Berlin he sought to expedite the reconciliation of crown and parliament and urged upon his reluctant cabinet the immediate summoning of a "German Reichstag."²⁹ With Eulenburg, his most talented colleague, he discussed the use to which the German constitution of 1849 could be put in an emergency.³⁰

When Carl Schurz visited Germany eighteen months later, Bismarck related with—one may suspect—a certain mischievous pleasure the radical plan which had been in his mind at this crucial stage of the Austrian war. If France had marched, he informed the astonished émigré of '48, he had intended to arouse the "national feeling of the whole people" by adopting the Frankfurt constitution. Had Austria joined her, even more drastic measures would have been taken.

We would have been forced to explode every mine. In Hungary everything was prepared. The Honved battalions had been organized for the most part in secret. In Serbia and on the Moldau Hungarian cadres were ready. If this primer had been ignited, of course, retreat would no longer have been possible. To treat with Austria would have been out of the question. Her destruction would have been

²⁴ See Eduard von Wertheimer, *Bismarck im politischen Kampf* (Berlin, 1930), pp. 233–84, and A. Kienast, *Die Legion Klapka* (Vienna, 1900).

²⁵ See Hermann Wendel, *Bismarck und Serbien im Jahre 1866* (Berlin, 1927).

²⁶ *Werke*, VI, 93, 103, 114.

²⁷ After entering Bohemia the Prussian army issued a proclamation to the inhabitants which read in part: "If our cause is victorious the moment may come when Bohemia and Moravia can, like Hungary, realize their national ambitions." Hans Raupach, *Bismarck und die Tschechen* (Berlin, 1936), pp. 8–9. When complaints were heard from both Berlin and St. Petersburg, Bismarck wrote Eulenburg to explain that the proclamation was a mere gesture designed to keep the population friendly during the Prussian occupation. He added, nevertheless, that he was prepared to support Bohemian as well as Hungarian autonomy, if Austria were to continue the war. *Werke*, VI, 58–60.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, 55.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, VI, 38, 40, 57, 59.

³⁰ Bismarck intended to proclaim the Frankfurt constitution as a last resort in the event of war against France, but indicated that if victorious he would subject the document to a "fundamental revision" in order to make it "usable for us." *Ibid.*, VI, 59.

unavoidable. A great empty space would have then opened between Germany and Turkey. It would have been necessary to create something to fill this vacuum. We could not have left our Hungarian friends in the lurch.

Bismarck admitted, however, that "such eccentric means" were only a last resort. He preferred to avoid war with France at such a cost. The existence of Austria was "necessary for Europe."³¹

Bismarck was confident of victory when he launched the war of 1866, but he was also very aware of the dangers of defeat. The future of the Prussian state and Hohenzollern monarchy was at stake. Later he told of his resolve to seek death on the battlefield if the Prussian cause had proved hopeless.³² Short of this extremity, however, he was determined to exhaust every available weapon. In July and August he dangled a lighted match over the powder keg of European nationalism. He preferred not to set off the explosion. But had nothing else availed he was prepared to do so.

III

Because of these policies Bismarck does not fit easily into the category of the classical diplomatist. It is true, as Schnabel has pointed out, that his policy of *arrondissement* and his dedication to *raison d'état* were typical of the age of absolutism.³³ His objectives, moreover, were limited and his measures calculated with dispassion. With consummate skill he steered the Prussian course amid the clashing interests of the great powers, traveling first with one current, then with another. Unlike the great practitioners of cabinet diplomacy, however, he did not limit the forces which he exploited to the governments of states. He included also the revolutionary social and political movements of modern times. Among his contemporaries, Gortschakoff, minister of the tsar, better deserves to be called a classical diplomatist. Bismarck belongs more properly to the category of Napoleon III.

In many respects Louis Napoleon was the prototype of the modern dictator. Drawing upon the tactics of his famous uncle, he employed the nationalistic appeal and universal suffrage to destroy the republic. By capturing many of the slogans and some of the machinery of democracy he constructed a new autocracy over the ruins of popular sovereignty. From Napoleon Bismarck learned that liberalism and nationalism were not inseparable and that the latter could be used to suppress the former. For nearly half a century the German liberals had argued that national unity could only be achieved through popular sovereignty. By bringing it about under monarchical

³¹ *Ibid.*, VII, 234-35, 242. See also *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz* (New York, 1907-1908), III, 272.

³² *Ibid.*, VII, 146.

³³ "Bismarck und die klassische Diplomatie," *Aussenpolitik*, III (1952), 635-42.

auspices, the talented Junker deprived German liberalism of its most forceful argument for political reform.

Having achieved the divorce of liberalism and nationalism, Bismarck wedded the latter to conservatism. Previously the two had been thought incapable of union. Since 1815, Prussian conservatism had been dominated by romantic thought which wished to preserve and even rebuild the social and political structure of feudalism. Bismarck, on the other hand, appreciated the dynamic quality of the nineteenth century and realized that, if conservative institutions were to endure, they must be continuously refortified from the new social and political forces of the age. Through universal suffrage he hoped to by-pass the liberal bourgeoisie and bring the monarchy into contact with the working class.³⁴ By linking the monarchy with German nationalism, moreover, he intended to establish a bond between the crown and its subjects which would transcend class distinctions. Through these means, in fact, Bismarck was able to justify and perpetuate the social and political position of the Junkers and the autocratic powers of the Hohenzollern dynasty.

Another element in the synthesis of ideas and institutions compounded by Bismarck was Prussian militarism. In 1862 he was summoned to save the military program of the monarchy and the Prussian high command. It was Albrecht von Roon, the minister of war, who persuaded William I to appoint the man who the latter feared "would turn everything upside down."³⁵ By guiding the monarchy into the service of the national cause, Bismarck defeated the attempt of the Landtag to dictate military policy through its budgetary powers. Because of this victory the Prussian officer caste was able to strengthen its monopoly of command. During Bismarck's term of office, in fact, the Prussian General Staff succeeded in removing itself from all political control, either by parliament or the civil executive.³⁶ When the civil or military powers of the monarchy were questioned by the Reichstag, Bismarck replied by declaring that Germany owed her unity to the kaiser, the Prussian army, and its great commander, Moltke. On these occasions he refurbished the story of the period of unification, painting William I as a German nationalist whose role had been more important than his own in the

³⁴ This was the purpose of Bismarck's conversations and correspondence with the socialist Ferdinand Lassalle in the early sixties. See Gustav Mayer, *Bismarck und Lassalle* (Berlin, 1928).

³⁵ Quoted in Friedjung, *Kampf*, I, 51-52.

³⁶ During these years the Prussian General Staff established that fatal separation of military and political authority which severed the co-ordination of military and foreign policy and ended with the creation of a military dictatorship during the First World War. See the illuminating article by Gerhard Ritter, "Das Verhältnis von Politik und Kriegführung im bismarckischen Reich," in Werner Conze, ed., *Deutschland und Europa*, Festschrift für Hans Rothfels (Düsseldorf, 1951), pp. 69-97.

crucial decisions of the sixties. In one of his most bitter speeches against the parliamentary opposition in 1882 he declared that the army was "alone the bearer of the national idea" in Germany. Personally he felt a greater identity with the nation, a greater "love of country" as a Prussian officer than as a political leader.⁸⁷

Bismarck's Reich was not a unitary state. Nevertheless, the unitary pressure of nationalism played a vital role in the constitutional system which he devised. Nationalism supplied the centripetal force to counteract the centrifugal tendencies of particularism. The former was institutionalized in the Reichstag and its nationalistic parties and the latter in the Bundestag and the federated dynasties. By balancing these institutions and the forces which they represented Bismarck hoped to avoid the two extremes of confederation and unitary government. During his first decade as chancellor he feared that particularism was stronger than nationalism. It was difficult to believe that the dynasties would immediately lose the habits of selfishness instilled by centuries of political independence. Within the new Reich, even inside Prussia herself, there were many hostile elements—Danes, Poles, Alsatians, Lorrainers, and Hanoverian "Guelphs"—which could not be reconciled to the new order of things. Another dissident group was the German Catholics. Fearful of a national union dominated by Protestants, they formed in 1870 a new political party, the Center, whose program was ultramontane and decentralistic. The Prussian conservatives, moreover, were highly critical of Bismarck's "revolutionary" policy and of the new state which he had created. In foreign affairs also the chancellor foresaw the possibility of difficult times; he feared that the ghost of Kaunitz would walk again, summoning forth the alliance which a century before had almost ruined Frederick the Great.

In order to counteract these forces Bismarck leaned heavily in the beginning upon the national and centralistic arm of his constitutional balance. He allied his cabinet with the National Liberal party and conducted the *Kulturkampf* against the Center. So vigorously did he pursue the development of the new central government that to one observer, the Saxon envoy in Berlin, it appeared that "Prussia will eventually merge into Germany and not the reverse." A high Prussian official complained, "Bismarck will yet ruin the whole Prussian state for us!"⁸⁸ At the same time he fostered the growth of a German national sentiment. "The decisive factor which the governmental press will have to stress in its efforts to conquer particularism," he wrote in

⁸⁷ *Werke*, XII, 387; also 277–78, 330–32, 577; XIII, 222.

⁸⁸ Hans Goldschmidt, *Das Reich und Preussen im Kampf um die Führung* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 138–39.

1866, "lies in the German and not in the Prussian nationality."³⁹ Lecturing the Prussian Landtag he declared, "We have no cause to nourish any other than a German national patriotism."⁴⁰ Throughout these years his speeches, writings, and conversation,⁴¹ as well as the addresses he prepared for his royal master,⁴² were freely sprinkled with the words, phrases, and sentiments common to the lexicon of nationalism.

Toward the end of the seventies Bismarck reversed his earlier policy. As he became less concerned about the danger of particularism, his fear of the Reichstag grew. In his constitutional system one of the functions of the Reichstag was to act as a check upon "bureaucratic absolutism" and irresponsible influences in the imperial court. As long as he was in office, however, Bismarck considered this check to be unnecessary. Convinced of the sovereign wisdom of his policies, he expected the Reichstag to be the pliant instrument of their fulfillment. But in this he was disappointed. Like most modern legislatures, the German parliament became an arena in which opposed interests and conflicting ideals competed with each other and with the executive for political power.

In search of a pliable majority Bismarck reorganized the Conservative party upon a national platform, liquidated the *Kulturkampf*, and tried to make peace with the Center. He broke with his former liberal allies and sought to weaken them by seducing the capitalistic class with a protectionist program. At the same time he leaned upon the decentralistic arm of the constitutional balance by attempting to weaken the executive organs of the Reich and by strengthening the Bundesrat at the expense of the Reichstag.⁴³ "In the preservation of the federal state," he declared in 1880, "I see a much greater capacity for resistance against the pressure of republicanism, which is evident in the Reichstag as well as in the whole of Europe, than would be

³⁹ This passage is from a message to Stolberg-Wernigerode, in which Bismarck instructed the new governor of Hanover in the methods to be used in reconciling the inhabitants of that principality to the loss of their independence. *Werke*, VIB, 249-50. For a similar reason he opposed the incorporation of Alsace-Lorraine by Prussia and advocated the creation of a *Reichsland*. *Ibid.*, XI, 176-77.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, X, 419.

⁴¹ For examples see the following references: *Ibid.*, VI, 255-56, 303; VIA, 41, 177, 192, 284-86, 367; VII, 257-59, 372; X, 276-77, 314-15, 320, 324-25, 329, 388-89, 400-401, 467-68; XI, 24, 33, 44-47, 118-19, 132-33, 138, 192-93.

⁴² The words which Bismarck put into the mouth of his king were among the most nationalistic he ever penned. *Ibid.*, X, 273-74, 316-18, 370-71, 379-80, 384-85, 464-65, 467-68; XI, 126-28, 134-35, 140-43, 145-46, 193-94. Günther Franz discounted these speeches as a source for Bismarck's own national sentiment. *Nationalgefühl*, p. 76. They are, however, indicative of his desire to buttress the Hohenzollern monarchy by identifying it with the nation and making it an object for the patriotic loyalty of the masses.

⁴³ This did not weaken, of course, the hegemonial position of Prussia, which was the real repository of central political authority in Bismarck's constitutional system.

possible in a unitary state, in which only a single government—not a majority of governments—would stand opposed to the Reichstag.”⁴⁴

Despite this shift in viewpoint, Bismarck did not cease to express himself in nationalistic terms. On the contrary, he even used this idiom to explain his change of mind. In the German dynasties he claimed to have discovered a truer “national sentiment,” a greater “enthusiasm for German unity,” than existed in the Reichstag and the German electorate.⁴⁵ Bitterly he denounced the political parties as hostile to the national interest. Their “partisan particularism” should be forbidden by law.⁴⁶ Because of them Germany might yet return to the “round table of the Frankfurt Bundestag.”⁴⁷ If forced to choose between liberalism and parliamentary majority, on the one hand, and absolutism, patriotism, and Germany, on the other, his choice must be the latter.⁴⁸ This was the mood which produced the *Staatsstreichpläne* of the eighties in which the father of the German constitution contemplated the destruction of his progeny.

In contrast to the opposition, Bismarck invariably pictured himself as above all partisan behavior. He was the true representative of the nation, “of national patriotism against partisan particularism.”⁴⁹ Even when he rose to defend the material and political interests of the Junkers, he argued with no apparent consciousness of cant that their welfare was necessary for “orderly government” and essential to the continued existence of Prussia and the Reich.⁵⁰ In the face of political opposition Bismarck’s favorite answer was to equate national patriotism with political conformity. Those who disagreed with him were *Reichsfeinde*,⁵¹ the enemies of state and nation, a phrase which was to echo into the future.

The consequences of this strategy for the German liberal movement were severe. Although the liberals may be criticized for their readiness to compromise, it is true that they were subjected to a pressure difficult to withstand. In 1848 nationalism had provided them with the revolutionary zeal to attack the conservative social and political order. But nationalism was now captive to the opposition it had once assailed. Confronted by a triumphant conservative nationalism the German liberals lost confidence in the validity of their own principles.

⁴⁴ *Werke*, VIII, 363.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, XII, 277, 365–66, 500, 506–507; XIII, 121, 236–37, 301; XV, 448.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, XII, 485–86.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, XII, 365; see also 139–40, 283, 378–79, 419–20; XIII, 27, 37, 80, 94 ff., 112, 257, 266 ff.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, XII, 390.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, XII, 285; also 143–44, 164, 362, 389, 419–20; XIII, 16–17, 377.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, XII, 611.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, XIII, 122, 268, 271–72, 289, 312, 368, 380, 555.

IV

The problem is not exhausted with the realization that Bismarck exploited the sentiment of nationalism for political purposes. It remains to be determined whether he too was warmed and animated by the fire he helped to kindle.

Although often designed for political effect, his frequent utterances of German national sentiment after 1866 cannot be disregarded as wholly insincere. To be sure, he was not averse to the necessary political lie, but it seems improbable that he deliberately faked for more than thirty years an emotion which he did not feel. Such an accusation is contradicted by too many other traits in his personality: his contempt for sham, his aristocratic sense of honor, and his strong religious faith. His most nationalistic statements, moreover, are contained in speeches which he delivered after his dismissal from office. Although Bismarck did not withdraw from politics in 1890 and sought from his retirement to influence governmental policy, he nevertheless made many public speeches in which no immediate political intent is apparent. They were delivered before assemblies of common citizens, frequently students and teachers, who gathered to do him honor on his birthdays in Friedrichsruh or on his travels through Germany. The following excerpts are typical:⁵²

May it be our holy duty to nourish a strong and proud national sentiment and also to impregnate [our] children with the doctrine that the German, as soon as he crosses his border, loses in prestige if he cannot say that fifty million Germans stand united behind him, ready to defend German interests and German honor.

The bond which holds us inseparably together was formed from a mixture of blood, wounds, and death on the battlefield of St. Privat, from deeds performed in common under the attack of the hereditary foe who threatened our nationality and had need to destroy our unity. . . . history reveals that unity is most firmly established by comradeship in war.

. . . our national future lies to a great extent in the hands of the German teachers. (Bravo!) The schools have a very healthy influence upon our national institutions. Like our German officers' corps, our schools—and in this even the smallest state is no exception—are a peculiarly German institution, which other nations will not be able to imitate easily and quickly. (Stormy applause!) In the course of the last century the seeds planted in our youth have borne fruit and have given us a national political consciousness and a political understanding which previously were not ours.

⁵² *Ibid.*, XIII: (1) 479–80, address to the citizens of Treptow a. R.; (2) 436, address to the Dresden Choral Society; (3) 508, address to a convention of the Society for Public School Teachers in Bavaria; (4) 557, address to students from German universities and technical high schools. The last two hundred pages of Volume XIII of the *Werke* are studded with similar expressions of national sentiment.

After forty or sixty years perhaps you will not retain the opinions which you now have, but the seed planted in your young hearts during the period of Kaiser Willam I will, nevertheless, always bear fruit. Whatever changes may occur in our political institutions between now and then, your outlook will always remain a German national one, even when you grow old, because it is so today. One does not give up willingly the inner cultivation of the national sentiment, nor does one lose it either, even when one emigrates.

From these statements and many more it seems undeniable that Bismarck's national feeling was sincere. They were spoken not in the heat of parliamentary debate but in a more relaxed atmosphere before assemblies composed of citizens from every shade of the political spectrum. In them we see a didactic Bismarck, the elder statesman anxious to impart the distilled wisdom of a lifetime. They represent Bismarck as he wished to be remembered.

The first chancellor of the Reich was a German nationalist, but our search is not ended with the affirmation of this fact. The idea of the nation has assumed a variety of forms in Western thought. It remains to be determined in which Bismarck believed.

Friedrich Meinecke found it convenient to establish a twofold classification: the political nation (*Staatsnation*) and the cultural nation (*Kulturnation*).⁵³ The chief influence upon the development of the political nation was the power of the state. Political centralization led to cultural assimilation and to the growth of a national consciousness whose frontier coincided with that of the state. In some instances this sense of national identity was intensified by the introduction of political democracy. Through the theory of the social contract nationality also became a matter of individual choice, "un plébiscite de tous les jours," to use Renan's famous phrase. The molding influences in the development of the cultural nation, on the other hand, were ethnic similarity, related folkways, and a common language, literature, and religion. By describing the individuality of national cultures, Herder helped to awaken the slumbering nations of central and eastern Europe to an awareness of self. Romantic thought interpreted the nation as a cultural organism, and nationality became a matter of cultural heritage rather than personal decision. After Darwinism penetrated social thought, it also became a matter of racial stock.

Those who reject the idea of Bismarck's nationalism tend to judge him from the cultural rather than the political standpoint.⁵⁴ Although the concept of the cultural nation ultimately captured the German mind, that of the politi-

⁵³ *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* (Munich, 1908), pp. 1 ff.

⁵⁴ For this reason apparently Günther Franz stated the fundamental problem of his *Bismarck's Nationalgefühl* as one of irreconcilable alternatives, "state or nation?" (p. 5), despite the fact that his own analysis of the evidence (pp. 93 ff.) indicates that "state and nation" is the correct statement of the proposition.

cal nation was common in the nineteenth century. It was one of the reasons for the virulence of particularism. A long period of political independence had produced among the peoples of the larger German states a local patriotism which often took precedence over their loyalty to Germany as a whole. The bonds of this spiritual unity were dynastic allegiance, political and military tradition, and in some cases a common religion and tribal stock. "Because of her material importance, her definite tribal individuality, and the talent of her rulers," Bismarck wrote in 1865, "Bavaria is perhaps the only German country [*Land*] which has succeeded in developing a real, harmonious national sentiment."⁵⁵ He recognized that because she had incorporated many alien (German and non-German) peoples Prussia had less spiritual cohesion than Bavaria. Nevertheless, he often referred to the "Prussian nationality," as we have seen in a previous quotation.⁵⁶ Before 1866, in fact, the Prussian nation commanded his primary emotional allegiance. Without a state to give it substance, the German nation was never for him more than a shadow.

Through the expansion of Prussian power, the new state came into existence and with it the possibility of a German political nation. In 1866-1867 Bismarck is said to have often remarked, "My highest ambition is to make the Germans into a nation."⁵⁷ Thereafter he used the phrase "establishment of the German nationality" to describe his life's work.⁵⁸ Dynastic loyalty and national sentiment were inseparable in his mind. The idea of German unity under popular sovereignty was as much an anathema to him in 1866 as it had been in 1848. Only the preservation of monarchical authority, aristocratic privilege, and the Prussian military tradition within a united Germany made it possible for him to give priority to his German over his Prussian national sentiment.⁵⁹ Clearly his nationalism was none the less genuine because its matrix was the state rather than the cultural community.

Another reason for the failure to recognize Bismarck's nationalism lies in the field of psychology rather than historical definition. To many writers the terms "state" and "nation" correspond to two opposed faculties of the

⁵⁵ *Werke*, V, 116. See also Franz Schnabel, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (2d ed.; Freiburg, 1949), II, 88.

⁵⁶ Another interesting illustration is to be found in an address delivered to the Prussian House of Representatives in 1886. Speaking of the failure of Frederick William IV to unify Germany in 1849-1850, he concluded, "At that time the German nationality disappeared without a trace, although it was supported by the highest representative of the Prussian nationality." *Werke*, XIII, 149.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, 18. Johannes Ziekursch recognized the significance of this reference and those quoted below. *Politische Geschichte des neuen deutschen Kaiserreiches* (Frankfurt a. M., 1925-30), I, 80.

⁵⁸ *Werke*, XI, 119; XII, 551; XIII, 349.

⁵⁹ See his famous letter to Albrecht von Roon, August 27, 1869, in which Bismarck argued that it was a matter of no consequence that the navy be renamed "German" or "North German," instead of "Prussian," as long as it was the "royal navy." *Ibid.*, XIV (2), 755-56.

mind. The former elicits reason, while the latter excites emotion: attitudes presumed to be incompatible in statecraft. The calculation of the reason of state is within the reach of individual statesmen alone—preferably members of an aristocracy raised and educated for the task. The sentiment of nationalism, on the other hand, arises from the unreasoning mind of the mass, which can think of foreign affairs only in terms of idealistic crusades. That the two faculties of reason and sentiment could be harbored in the same personality has seemed an illusion, especially in the case of Bismarck. The wizard of the Wilhelmstrasse has long been celebrated as a complete realist, guided in his conduct of public affairs entirely by the head rather than the heart. His dedication to the monarchical and conservative cause has likewise seemed to isolate him from the possibility of nationalistic contamination. Nevertheless, the evidence shows that conservatism, reason of state, and national sentiment were woven harmoniously together in the complex fabric of Bismarck's mind.

The close association between dynastic loyalty and national feeling is especially apparent in the famous chapter of his memoirs entitled "Dynastien und Stämme." "In order to become active and effective," he wrote, "German patriotism needs as a rule the mediation of dynastic attachment." When expressed in any other way national patriotism has no real substance. To be sure, the Germans can be momentarily goaded by extreme anger into a great national effort. But they are incapable of any lasting cohesion without the cement provided by dynastic allegiance. If the German princes were suddenly deposed, the Reich would disintegrate amid the frictions of European politics. The German dynasties, on the other hand, cannot afford to ignore the national interest in the pursuit of their own particularistic ambitions. "Dynastic interests can only be justified in Germany insofar as they adapt themselves to the general national interest of the Reich. . . . So far as dynastic interests threaten us with fresh national disunion and impotence, they must be reduced to their proper measure. The German people and their national existence cannot be divided among princes like private property."⁶⁰

Bismarck wished to be known and remembered as a German nationalist. From 1866 until his death in 1898 he carefully cultivated the impression that he had been guided during most of his career by national motives. Following are typical quotations chosen at intervals from his speeches and conversations during these years:⁶¹

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, XV, 199–203.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*: (1) VII, 130, interview with Victor von Unruh; (2) XI, 178, address to the Reichstag; (3) XII, 122, address to the Reichstag; (4) XIII, 149, address to the Prussian House of Representatives; (5) XIII, 444, address to members of the municipal government in Dresden. For similar references, see: *ibid.*, VII, 233, 464, 498; XI, 44, 104, 106; XII, 144, 194–95, 386–87, 390–91; XIII, 209, 507.

He then returned to the German question and said that he had pursued the same goal [national unity] for sixteen years. [1866]

The task which I gave myself—or I should say, which hovered before me [*mir vorgeschwebt hat*—when I assumed the office of Prussian foreign minister has been accomplished: i.e., the establishment of the German Reich in any possible shape or form. [1871]

From the beginning of my career I have had but a single guiding purpose: to bring about the unity of Germany, whatever the means and whichever the way. When this was achieved my only aim was to promote and strengthen this unity and to give it such a form that it will endure by the common consent of all concerned. [1879]

The publications which have since appeared concerning my activity in Frankfurt a. M. will spare me the trouble of proving in greater detail that I came to this position with the intention of serving Germany in a national way [*auf nationalem Wege*] and that I have not let hostility divert me. [1886]

I have dedicated my entire life to the service of the German nation. [1892]

In his posthumous memoirs, the chief source from which the next generation was to obtain its political education, the national emphasis is once more evident. He deliberately exaggerated the degree of German patriotism which he had experienced as a youth.⁶² His rejection of the cause of national unity in 1848–1850 he seems to explain away as an interruption in the progress of this sentiment brought on by disgust over the liberal attack upon monarchical rule.⁶³ In relating the story of the subsequent period he left the impression that he had sought “to win the King of Prussia, consciously or unconsciously, and thereby the Prussian army for the national cause.”⁶⁴ Bismarck was himself the source, in other words, of that nationalistic interpretation of his career which some scholars now seek to refute.

In view of the evidence it seems impossible to discount Bismarck’s profession of German national sentiment after 1866. Even if one is inclined to do so, however, this is not the end of the matter. The question must then be asked whether the problem of his sincerity is not beside the point. The effect of his constant avowals was the same whether true or false. One of the reasons why the German public thought of the Second Reich as a “national state” was that its founder educated them in this conception.

⁶² *Ibid.*, XV, 5 ff.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, XV, 31 ff., 44 ff. See Franz, *Nationalgefühl*, p. 22.

⁶⁴ *Werke*, XV, 198. At another point in the book (pp. 231–32) the author admitted that he would have been willing in 1862 to attempt a dual rather than a national solution to the German question, although inclined to doubt the permanence of such a settlement. The effect of the entire volume is such, however, that this admission was long ignored. Heinrich von Sybel had realized that Bismarck’s primary motive before 1866 was to expand the Prussian state and that he did not consider war with Austria the only possible way to achieve this end. *Die Begründung des Deutschen Reiches durch Wilhelm I* (Munich, 1889–94), II, 147–48, and IV, 260–62. After interviewing Bismarck in Friedrichsruh in 1890 (*Werke*, IX, 49–50) and later reading his memoirs, Friedjung, on the other hand, thought himself justified in correcting this thesis. *Kampf um die Vorherrschaft*, I, 141–42.

Bismarck's view of the nation was a limited one, more compatible with the reason of state than other forms of the national idea. Unlike the pan-German nationalists, he felt no moral compulsion to bring all Germans under a single roof. In his opinion the reason of the German state actually dictated a contrary policy. Following the tradition of classical diplomacy, Bismarck looked upon Europe as a multiple political system, composed of five major states balanced in an equilibrium of power. The destruction of Austria, or any other member, would have eliminated an important weight in the balance and hence upset the scale. Furthermore, Bismarck avoided the kind of bellicose speeches with which William II was later to mortgage German foreign policy. He had no sympathy for chauvinistic nationalism.

Likewise Bismarck never accepted the viewpoint of the racial nationalist. He was anti-Semitic, to be sure, but this prejudice was based more on the social and religious distaste common to his social class than upon racial bigotry. His racial beliefs, in fact, would hardly have gained him admission to the Nazi party. He was fond of observing that the Germans were a masculine, and the Slavs a feminine, people. Since the former quality gave rise to an incorrigible spirit of independence and the latter to an attitude of passive dependence, he considered neither capable of creating a cohesive state. Only the mixture of the two, as in the case of Prussia, could produce a people capable of strong government.⁶⁵ Although it bolstered his case for Prussian hegemony in Germany, his racial theory had no apparent influence upon his political decisions.

Bismarck was not a totalitarian. He was well aware that absolutism either by the monarch or the mass would endanger the privileged position of the Junker class. As we have seen, he sought to restrict the unitary pressure of German nationalism. It is questionable, however, whether the Second Reich was a truly federal system. The overbearing size of Prussia and her hegemonial position within the German political structure scarcely accorded with the principle of federal equality. Despite the system of checks and balances, moreover, the final lever of power lay with the Hohenzollern monarchy and its ministers. As long as the kaiser was in control of the executive and the armed forces, his was the decisive voice. Protected by the shield of the monarchy, Bismarck was able to exert great pressure upon the political parties to make them conform to his will. When pressed by the Reichstag, he threatened to reduce its power and transform its character by unilaterally revising the constitution. If he had not been dismissed from office in 1890, he

⁶⁵ *Werke*, VII, 223; XIII, 570-71.

would probably have done so.⁶⁶ In the last analysis Bismarck recognized no limits, other than expedience, to the degree of coercion he was justified in employing to gain what he thought was a necessary end.

The Second Reich was very different from the Third, and yet it did establish certain precedents which were to nurture the latter. By his career Bismarck fostered the tradition of the *Tatmensch*, the man of iron will and decision who manipulates the reins of power, responsible only to his own conscience for the results. He perpetuated the myth of the statesman above politics, interested only in the welfare of the whole rather than in personal power and the privileges of his social class. In the twentieth century the German conservatives from Ludendorff to Hugenberg continued Bismarck's tactic of using nationalism as a weapon with which to defeat and, if possible, destroy the liberals, socialists, and communists. They learned too late that nationalism could be anticonservative, as well as antiliberal and anti-Marxist. It is ironical that the German conservatives themselves ultimately fell victim to the monster they helped to create.

Bismarck's synthesis of nationalism, autocracy, and militarism also contributed to the milieu out of which the Nazi movement came. It contained none of the mitigating influences—such as pacifism and respect for the rights of the individual and the minority—which had tempered liberal nationalism in the early nineteenth century. Furthermore, the three elements of the synthesis did not remain within the limits conceived by its creator. Under the impact of the First World War the flimsy obstacles which he erected against the growth of absolutism were swept away. By 1917 Germany was ruled by a military dictatorship whose expansionist policy was incompatible with the re-establishment of the European balance of power. Bismarck's narrow conception of the nation, moreover, was not widely shared. In his own lifetime the nationalistic phrases which he employed meant something different to his hearers than to himself. Cultural and racial nationalism had a stronger emotional appeal than dynastic patriotism and the reason of state.⁶⁷ With the substitution of these forms of the national idea Bismarck's synthesis became a revolutionary instrument. Combined with the Prussian traditions of autocracy and militarism, German cultural and racial nationalism became the most potent threat to the stability of the European order which Western civilization had yet produced.

If one line of German development runs from the Revolution of 1848

⁶⁶ See Egmont Zechlin, *Die Staatsstreichpläne Bismarcks und Wilhelms II.* (Stuttgart, 1929).

⁶⁷ Bismarck was himself not immune to the appeal of cultural nationalism. In some of his speeches of the nineties he paid tribute to the national ties created by German art, science, and literature. *Werke*, XIII, 425–26, 436–37, 577.

through Treitschke to Hitler, another certainly goes from Bismarck through Ludendorff to Hitler. In both cases many of the restraining influences were lost along the way. Ideas which had once been integral became dissociated and were never effectively recombined. On the one hand, liberalism was jettisoned in pursuit of the chimera of national unity. The German conservatives, on the other hand, became themselves the prisoners of the nationalistic sentiment with which they sought to broaden their popular support. From opposite directions these lines of development (and others which cannot be analyzed here) converged upon the revolution of 1933. Out of this unfortunate chemistry of more than a century came the unstable compound of National Socialism. Many were the chemists who unknowingly had a hand in its creation. Bismarck was certainly one of them.

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* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Woodrow Wilson, a Third Term, and the Solemn Referendum

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AS election year, 1920, neared there was more than the usual speculation as to whether the President would be a candidate. Political reporters wrote variously that two presidents, Roosevelt and Wilson, would campaign against each other for a third term; that Wilson would run in order to assure United States participation in the League of Nations; and even that he resisted compromise with Republicans in order to make the League the issue for a third term bid. The consensus of press and politicians, at least before his breakdown in September, 1919, was that Wilson would run again.¹

Wilson's position of leadership within his party was overshadowing; many Democrats were ready to cry "long live the king." According to the party chairman, Homer Cummings, the 1918 election had shown that Democrats could hope to win in 1920 only by adding Wilson's personal following to the normal party vote.² Attorney General Palmer proclaimed that Wilson could be elected, and national committeeman Norman E. Mack said he did not see how anyone else could be the nominee.³ Seibold, of the *New York World*, wrote that Democratic leaders hoped Wilson would run and, unless he indicated otherwise, would take his consent for granted.⁴

No statement came from Wilson, and through 1919 there is no consistent evidence concerning his attitude. His political theory opposed any arbitrary time limit on executive leadership, and, in February, 1919, the White House denied a report that Wilson had intimated he would not run.⁵ In Paris, House reported, Wilson was at one time on the brink of withdrawing. Wilson saw press comment that removal of his personal political fortunes from

¹ *Nation*, Jan. 31, 1918, p. 105; *New York Times*, June 20, 1918, p. 1; June 21, 1918, p. 12; July 20, 1919, p. 1; Aug. 1, 1919, p. 11; *New York Post*, May 28, 1919, p. 1; *New York Tribune*, Sept. 22, 1919, p. 13; R. W. Wooley to Tumulty, Aug. 19, 1919, Ray Stannard Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3, Library of Congress.

² Cummings, "Comments on the Recent Congressional Election," Nov. 7, 1918, Wilson Papers, Ser. II, Box 155, Library of Congress.

³ *New York Times*, Apr. 26, 1919, p. 8; *New York Tribune*, Feb. 23, 1919, p. 1.

⁴ *New York World*, July 7, 1919, p. 7.

⁵ *New York Times*, Mar. 2, 1919, p. 3.

the fight would facilitate passage of the League through the Senate and wired Presidential Secretary Tumulty for a consensus of his advisers. Tumulty replied against a third term but said that, because of Democratic discouragement at 1920 prospects, the time was not ripe for an announcement.⁶

Some thought that Wilson's September speaking tour was designed less to influence the Senate than to initiate his candidacy. His breakdown changed the picture sharply.⁷ There were still expressions of support, and South Dakota's state convention declared for him, but, in general, sentiment shifted. His staunch supporter, the *New York World*, now held that a third race was unthinkable, and his illness convinced his most loyal associates that he was "unavailable."⁸

Nevertheless, the possibility that Wilson might be the Democratic candidate played a part in the sparring of the parties preliminary to the 1920 contest. If Wilson could add to his reforms and war leadership the creation of an international organization, his prestige might become unbeatable at the polls. If Wilson sought to make the League the vehicle of Democratic victory, Republicans, perforce, must accept the issue and so amend the treaty as to give it a bipartisan character or defeat it.

Wilsonian Democrats, who wanted the League ratified and who generally felt Wilson was not able to fight, urged the President to compromise with the Republicans. Bernard Baruch, Joseph Tumulty, and Mrs. Wilson dared to suggest such a course to him; his strongest newspaper supporters, the *New York World* and the *Springfield Republican*, so expressed themselves insistently, a majority of Democratic senators broke away from him on the issue, and virtually the entire group of his cabinet and political advisers favored accepting the Lodge reservations.⁹

Wilson, however, maintained that the reservationists sought to nullify, though most pro-League leaders and "experts" did not think so; he identified his position with the nation's honor and asked that the election be made a "great and solemn referendum" on the treaty.¹⁰ He discouraged attempts at compromise in the Senate, vigorously prodded Democrats against any tend-

⁶ *New York Tribune*, Jan. 1, 1920, p. 1; David Lawrence, *The True Story of Woodrow Wilson* (New York, 1924), pp. 299-300; John M. Blum, *Joe Tumulty and the Wilson Era* (Boston, 1951), p. 190.

⁷ *New York Post*, Sept. 16, 1919, p. 9.

⁸ *New York Times*, Dec. 2, 1919, p. 1; *New York World*, Dec. 4, 1919, p. 14, editorial; Jan. 8, 1920, p. 1; *Literary Digest*, Dec. 27, 1919.

⁹ Edith B. Wilson, *My Memoir* (Indianapolis, 1938), pp. 296-97; Carter Field, *Bernard Baruch* (New York, 1944), pp. 180-90, 194; told by Baruch to Allan Nevins, Nevins to author, 1948; *New York World*, Dec. 18, 1919, p. 10, editorial; Jan. 10, 1920, p. 10, editorial; *Springfield Republican*, Jan. 9, 1920, p. 8, editorial.

¹⁰ *New York Tribune*, Jan. 9, 1920, p. 1; *New York World*, May 11, 1920, p. 14, editorial; Thomas A. Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* (New York, 1945), pp. 383-84.

ency to evade the issue, and took care that the draft of the Democratic platform represented his ideas.¹¹

Senator Lodge, whom more than a few suspected of harboring ambition, was willing to accept the issue. Hoping that Wilson personally would carry the League into the campaign, because he would be the "worst beaten" man who ever lived, Lodge publicly called for a referendum on the difference between himself and the President. The *World* chided that only Lodge's shrinking modesty prevented him from mentioning the super-available Republican candidate on such an issue.¹²

Wilson's attitude of apparent receptivity had a dampening effect on Democratic pre-convention activity. The leading figures produced by the administration were William Gibbs McAdoo, Herbert Hoover, and the red-hunting Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer. McAdoo was in a state of tortured indecision—probably he could get the nomination if he worked for it but he could not enter in apparent opposition to his chief and father-in-law even though Wilson was too sick to be nominated. McAdoo anxiously sought information about Wilson's intentions from Dr. Grayson and Tumulty and then adopted a policy of refusing openly to enter the race while allowing his supporters to work quietly for him.¹³ Later, when Wilson took steps that appeared as a bid for nomination, McAdoo announced that he would not allow his name to be presented to the convention.¹⁴

Although Mrs. Wilson told his manager that it might be necessary for Wilson to run, Palmer, less sensitive, wrote Wilson that unless the President asked him to support someone he would enter as a candidate and would resign from the cabinet if desired. When he received a somewhat testy reply that Wilson had no objection to his trying to get delegates but the convention must be left free to choose whom it pleased, he entered the primaries, though with slight success.¹⁵

In their attempts to fill the vacuum created by the lack of an administration candidate the Democrats thought of nominating Hoover. Hoover ap-

¹¹ See Wilson on Simmons compromise, *New York World*, Feb. 8, 1920, p. 1; Wilson to Hitchcock, *New York World*, Mar. 9, 1920, p. 1; Wilson to Kansas State Convention and Senator Underwood's reaction, *New York World*, May 10, 1920, p. 1; May 11, p. 2; Wilson's veto of the Knox resolution, *New York Tribune*, May 28, 1920, p. 1.

¹² Lodge to Root, Sept. 29, 1919, Root Papers, Box 231, Library of Congress. *New York World*, Nov. 22, 1919, p. 1; Nov. 24, 1919, p. 10, editorial.

¹³ McAdoo to Tumulty, Feb. 14, 1920; McAdoo to C. G. Bowers, Jan. 24, 1920; McAdoo to Thomas Love, Feb. 7, 1920; McAdoo to Jouett Shouse, May 3, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Boxes 445-46, Library of Congress. (The donor, who under the conditions of his gift may control access to these papers until July 1, 1959, has now closed them to research until that date.)

¹⁴ *New York Times*, June 19, 1920, p. 1.

¹⁵ Josephus Daniels Diary, Feb. 20, 1920, Daniels Papers, Box 3, Library of Congress; Mrs. Funk to Roper, Feb. 27, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Box 445; Joseph P. Tumulty, *Woodrow Wilson as I Knew Him* (Garden City, N. Y., 1921), pp. 495-96.

peared receptive when approached by the party leadership but, as the movement was being organized, torpedoed it by announcing that he was a Republican.¹⁶ Governor James M. Cox of Ohio, unembarrassed by loyalty to Wilson, conducted an unpretentious "boom," relying on administrative disorganization, opposition of the political bosses to Wilson, and the strategic position of his own state. William Jennings Bryan, already something of a historical figure, opposed making the treaty the issue, tried to get it ratified despite Wilson, and favored a campaign on more "Bryanesque" issues such as prohibition.

Wilson's own role in 1920 cannot be treated realistically without emphasizing that he was unwell. In Paris, in April, he became ill, and, although incapacitated at that time for only a few days, he never fully recovered. Close associates found him with new peculiarities: he had become suspicious, inconsiderate, physically less alert, less poised, and more emotional. On his September tour he suffered further attacks of illness and returned to Washington. Here he was stricken again, almost completely incapacitated for a month, and left partially paralyzed.¹⁷

Homer Cummings and George Creel thought that his mind had lost none of its clarity although he talked little and had less control over his feelings. Carter Glass, however, who found his interviews trying, thought that the President's mind had begun to cloud. He did not assume his customary initiative, seemed to have difficulty in following discussion at his cabinet meeting, and his private secretary said that, after his illness, he never dictated more than five minutes at a time. Ike Hoover and Starling, White House usher and guard, found him irascible and unreasonable. David Lawrence said that it was to his physical condition, his lapses of memory, irritability, and excessive emotion that many of his acts must be attributed.¹⁸

As the date of the convention drew near with Wilson still refusing to

¹⁶ New York *World*, Jan. 21, 1920, p. 10, editorial; Josephus Daniels, *The Wilson Era* (Chapel Hill, 1946), pp. 323-24; Homer Cummings Memorandum, R. S. Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3.

¹⁷ Wilson's illness was cerebral thrombosis—the blocking of an artery in the brain with consequent destruction of part of the brain. This illness may last for many years, punctuated by attacks as additional arteries close, and may have varying effects on personality and character. Usually the core personality remains and the patient at times may appear his old self. Some frequent (though not invariable) effects of the illness are that the patient becomes irascible, suspicious, morose, overemotional, loses physical and mental abilities, loses judgment and he may become somewhat psychopathic with moral changes. Walter C. Alvarez, "Cerebral Arteriosclerosis," *Geriatrics*, I (1946), 189-216.

¹⁸ Cummings Memorandum, R. S. Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3; George Creel, *Rebel at Large* (New York, 1947), pp. 225-28; Rixey Smith and Norman Beasley, *Carter Glass* (New York, 1939), p. 205; David F. Houston, *Eight Years with Wilson's Cabinet* (New York, 1926), p. 70; Blum, *Tumulty*, p. 312; Irwin Hood Hoover, *Forty-Two Years in the White House* (Boston, 1934), pp. 95-99; Edmund W. Starling as told to Thomas Sugrue, *Starling of the White House* (New York, 1946), pp. 137-57; David Lawrence, *The True Story of Woodrow Wilson* (New York, 1924), p. 283.

withdraw, sentiment among Democrats changed from regret to alarm and resentful hostility. Tumulty wrote Mrs. Wilson strongly urging a "dignified statement of withdrawal." Representative Humphreys, at the urging of Democratic leaders including Claude Kitchin, made an impassioned speech in the House against a third term, regretting that Wilson had allowed the country to believe he was willing.¹⁹ However, the *Literary Digest* poll showed Wilson to be second only to McAdoo as the popular choice for the Democratic nomination.²⁰

In a situation which made him the logical standard-bearer Wilson apparently began to promote positively his candidacy. In the Wilson Papers is a note in Wilson's handwriting headed "The Solemn Referendum and Accounting of Your Government." Here Wilson asks if the people wished to make use of his services for another four years as President.²¹ About the first of March, 1920, he summoned his political advisers to meet at the Chevy Chase Country Club to consider what part he should play in politics in the immediate future.²²

On June 18, six days after the nomination of Harding and ten days before the opening of the Democratic convention, the New York *World* created a sensation by publishing an interview with Wilson by Louis Seibold. The interview emphasized Wilson's recovery—Seibold had watched him transact important business with all his "old time decisiveness, method and keenness of intellectual appraisement." Wilson was confident that the election would be a referendum on the League, that the Democratic convention would choose candidates who would command greater support than Harding and Coolidge, and was eager to appeal to the people directly.²³ Tumulty had wished to use the interview for platform ideas and a statement of withdrawal, but on his memorandum opposite "personal plans" Mrs. Wilson wrote that there was to be nothing but exaltation of Wilson.²⁴

On the afternoon of the same day the news broke that McAdoo would not allow his name to be presented to the convention. A New York *Tribune*

¹⁹ Tumulty to Mrs. Wilson, Mar. 23, 1920, Blum, *Tumulty*, p. 242; New York *Tribune*, Mar. 26, 1920, p. 1.

²⁰ *Literary Digest*, June 12, 1920, p. 20.

²¹ This item, undated, is found among October, 1920, papers but it is the writer's opinion that these notes were made in preparation for the January 8 Jackson Day address and were withdrawn from the files to aid in preparation of the October 3 appeal. Wilson Papers, Ser. II, Box 170.

²² Field, *Baruch*, p. 194; Cummings Memorandum, R. S. Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3; Card of the Postmaster General, Burleson Papers, XXV, Library of Congress.

²³ New York *World*, June 18, 1920, p. 1.

²⁴ Blum, *Tumulty*, p. 243. Soon after this interview Wilson posed for George W. Harris and released pictures showing him at work at his desk. New York *Tribune*, June 21, 1920, p. 1. Seibold's subsequent reports from San Francisco seemed designed to promote Wilson as the Democratic nominee. New York *World*, June 24, 1920, p. 1; June 25, 1920, p. 2; June 28, 1920, p. 1; July 5, 1920, p. 1.

headline, "McAdoo Refuses to Enter Race, Wilson May Seek Third Term," was typical of newspaper reaction to the two events.²⁵ The Illinois boss, Brennan, told Murphy and Smith of New York that McAdoo's withdrawal appeared to be a certain indication that the President wanted the nomination, and neither contradicted him.²⁶ Wall Street odds, which had been 20 to 1 against Wilson, made him a 9 to 5 favorite by June 30.²⁷

Before leaving for San Francisco several administration leaders called at the White House. On May 31 Homer Cummings talked about everything but possible candidates, although Wilson apparently wanted him to broach that subject.²⁸ Wilson wrote, however, that Cummings, who was on record that the Democrats could win only with the help of Wilson's personal following, was to represent the President at San Francisco.²⁹ Carter Glass visited the White House on June 10, where Postmaster General Burleson told him he believed Wilson wanted a third term, and Glass found Tumulty and Grayson anxious about it. Glass discussed candidates and Wilson was negative toward all of them. When Glass told Grayson of his interview, Grayson implored him to prevent the nomination of Wilson in order to save the President's "life and fame."³⁰ Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby was the last of the leaders to see Wilson before the convention. We have no account of his conference, but subsequent events indicated that he was even more strongly impressed than Cummings and Glass of Wilson's desire for a third nomination.

On the eve of the convention much of the press regarded Wilson's nomination as a distinct possibility, though most of the delegates seemed to consider him unavailable. A conference at Salt Lake City, reportedly representing forty per cent of the delegates, formed a combination in restraint of Wilson.³¹ When, as the convention was called to order, the unveiling of a huge portrait signaled a demonstration for Wilson, some northern bosses sat tight fearing an attempt to stampede the convention.³²

The administration controlled the convention: it chose all important officials, had its representative deliver the keynote address, and dictated the platform. The Bryan forces and the bosses were outnumbered and split on

²⁵ *New York Tribune*, June 19, 1920, p. 1; *Chicago Tribune*, June 19, 1920, p. 2; Mark Sullivan in *New York Post*, July 1, 1920, p. 5.

²⁶ *New York Tribune*, June 20, 1920, p. 2; *New York World*, June 20, 1920, p. 2.

²⁷ *New York World*, June 23, 1920, p. 2; July 1, p. 1.

²⁸ Cummings Memorandum, R. S. Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3.

²⁹ Wilson to Meredith, June 14, 1920, Wilson Papers, Ser. II, Box 168.

³⁰ Smith, *Glass*, pp. 205-206; Glass "Diary," June 19, 1920, Glass Papers, University of Virginia.

³¹ *New York Post*, June 19, 1920, p. 1; *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1920, p. 2; June 25, pp. 1, 2; *Washington Star*, June 23, p. 1.

³² *New York Post*, June 29, 1920, p. 1; Broun in *New York Tribune*, June 29, 1920, pp. 1, 2.

prohibition. But as to a candidate, administration forces were unorganized. McAdoo opened with the greatest strength despite his earlier statements, but he consistently maintained his role by holding Daniel C. Roper and Bernard Baruch out of San Francisco, thus leaving his supporters without a leader of authority to plan strategy or to bargain.³³ Anti-administration Democrats, except Bryan, grouped around Cox, but many favorite sons refused to give up. It was not until after thirty-eight ballots, taken over four days, that Palmer gave in and his supporters went to Cox, who was nominated on the forty-fourth ballot. Franklin D. Roosevelt as Vice-President was the administration's consolation prize. Wilson might have thrown the nomination to McAdoo, but, though he gave directions on all other matters, here he remained silent.³⁴

There was some suggestion in the press of a backstage move by administration leaders during the long deadlock to nominate Wilson, but the real story was unknown and not revealed fully for years—a remarkable political secret kept in a silence of embarrassment. Burleson, who with flattery had encouraged Wilson's third term thoughts, quickly discovered at San Francisco what he must have known before, that the delegates were not going to nominate the sick President; hence he came out openly for McAdoo.³⁵ Cummings, reporting by code, telegraphed that Palmer could not be nominated, Cox was badly managed, and McAdoo might be nominated, adding, "It is a Wilson convention in spirit and purpose."³⁶

Colby, known for his intense personal loyalty, tried to get the nomination for Wilson. He told a *New York Times* reporter that there had not been a moment when a motion to nominate Wilson by acclamation would not have carried.³⁷ On Friday, July 2, the day balloting began, Colby, without consulting the leaders in San Francisco but, perhaps, after a telephone call to the White House, sent Wilson a dramatic telegram. There was fervent unanimity of feeling for Wilson, he said, no candidate presented could be nominated, and Bryan was threatening. He proposed, unless definitely instructed otherwise, at the first opportune moment to move suspension of the rules and place Wilson's name in nomination.³⁸

³³ Mrs. Funk to McAdoo, July 6, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Box 448.

³⁴ Carter Glass carried the administration draft of the platform to San Francisco. Wilson sent a plank calling for liberalization of the Volstead Act by Cummings who gave it to Glass, who pocketed it. Cummings to author, July, 1953. The keynote address was submitted to Wilson for approval and Wilson even sent a list of names from which he suggested the vice-presidential nominee be taken. Wilson to Cummings, code telegram, June 12, 1920, R. S. Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3.

³⁵ Burleson to D. C. Roper, July 12, 1920, Burleson Papers, XXVI.

³⁶ Cummings to Wilson, June 30, 1920, Wilson Papers, Ser. II, Box 169.

³⁷ *New York Times*, July 1, 1920, p. 1.

³⁸ Cummings Memorandum, R. S. Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3; Colby to Wilson, July 2, 1920, Wilson Papers, Ser. II, Box 169.

Cummings, learning of the telegram, told Colby that this would place the President and his friends in an impossible position and that a nomination would sign his death warrant. He asked, furthermore, that Wilson's friends be taken into consultation. Cummings, Burleson, Daniels, and Robinson gathered in Colby's room Saturday morning. Colby's action aroused indignation and resentment in the group. Glass said the plan was utterly impossible and unthinkable. He felt like a criminal, said Colby, pathetically.³⁹

Reports that day from Cummings and Burleson seemed designed to let Wilson down easily. Cummings wired Saturday afternoon, after the seventeenth ballot, that the situation had not become static and that Cox had an advantageous strategic position. The delegates were apparently inflexible in their support of candidates already nominated. He was, he said, in touch with Wilson's loyal friends.⁴⁰ Burleson wired that indications pointed to a rapid nomination of McAdoo. A conference had canvassed the situation in the light of the telephone message to Colby, he said, and if an opportune moment arrived, action would be taken.⁴¹ In view of press reports of Burleson's activity for McAdoo this telegram must have been unwelcome. Wilson wired Cummings that the Postmaster General was not to be included in further intimate conferences.⁴²

The conference of administration leaders at San Francisco required Colby to send a sad "No" to Wilson. After exhaustive consideration, Colby wired, it was the opinion of all that opponents could block a motion to set aside the rules and that the lines of existing candidacies were drawn so tightly that Wilson's name would not command votes sufficient to nominate. A small vote for him might be taken as the real expression of the party on the League. The conference suggested that Wilson wire Cummings instructing him that such a course be pursued in the matter as seemed to them practicable and judicious.⁴³

Wilson's reply seemed to suggest another conference restricted to his closest political friends. He said that he hoped that such a course would be pursued as seemed practicable and judicious to Cummings, Colby, Robinson, Glass, Hull, McCormick, and to Baruch if they could reach him.⁴⁴ Baruch was not in San Francisco, but it was the unanimous opinion of the others that nothing further should be done.⁴⁵

³⁹ Cummings Memorandum; Colby to Wilson, July 4, 1920, code telegram, R. S. Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3; Daniels, *Wilson Era*, pp. 555-56.

⁴⁰ Cummings to Wilson, July 3, 1920, code telegram, R. S. Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3.

⁴¹ Burleson to Wilson, July 3, 1920, code telegram, *ibid.*

⁴² Wilson to Cummings, (July 4?), code telegram, *ibid.*

⁴³ Colby to Wilson, code telegram, *ibid.*

⁴⁴ Wilson to Cummings, code telegram, *ibid.*

⁴⁵ Cummings Memorandum, *ibid.*

At the White House Wilson had sat on the back veranda coding and decoding by himself; not even Tumulty saw the messages.⁴⁶ Tumulty learned of the move to nominate Wilson by a telephone call from Ray Baker in San Francisco and sent a series of notes to Mrs. Wilson against it, suggesting that Wilson put in a word for one of the other candidates. His notes were not answered. When Cox telephoned requesting a denial of reports by Glass that Cox was unacceptable to Wilson, the President refused to break his silence and Tumulty, on his own initiative, denied that Wilson had expressed opinions about the candidates.⁴⁷

When Burleson returned from San Francisco Wilson sent for him and demanded to know just what had taken place there. Burleson sent him an account he had written but Wilson returned it with a note stating that he did not desire to read it and Burleson then sensed Wilson's feeling against him for what had occurred at San Francisco. Kerney reported that Wilson issued a demand for Burleson's resignation, and it took considerable strategy to get him to recall it.⁴⁸

If Wilson had remained in good health it is possible that he would have made a strong bid to shatter the third term tradition. Before his breakdown he was at least holding the door open for a third nomination. After he had been stricken by cerebral thrombosis and the Senate had defeated the treaty, he seemed little interested in compromise but pursued a policy of making the League the issue of the 1920 campaign. Despite urging, he refused to withdraw, preserved an inviting attitude toward the nomination, and privately opposed all other aspirants. As the convention approached he took a number of steps apparently designed to secure the nomination and fostered an abortive move to "draft" him at San Francisco. His illness and his receptivity to a third nomination not only frustrated compromise on the Treaty of Versailles; they help also to explain some of the obscure aspects of his last year in the Presidency.

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⁴⁶ Cummings Memorandum (under date of July 26, 1920), *ibid.*

⁴⁷ Blum, *Tumulty*, pp. 246-47, *Washington Star*, July 4, 1920, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Burleson to Josephus Daniels, Oct. 23, 1934, Daniels Papers, Box 704; James Kerney, *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson* (New York, 1926), p. 457; Hoover, *Forty-two Years*, p. 107.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

TEACHERS OF HISTORY: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF LAURENCE BRADFORD PACKARD. Edited by *H. Stuart Hughes* with the Collaboration of *Myron P. Gilmore* and *Edwin C. Rozwenc*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for Amherst College. 1954. Pp. vi, 372. \$5.00.)

THE exceptionally high level of style and scholarship maintained throughout these fifteen essays makes them a worthy tribute to Professor Packard and convincing proof of his remarkable influence as a teacher of history, first at the University of Rochester and (since 1925) at Amherst College. How broad, intense, and persistent that influence has been President Charles W. Cole of Amherst makes clear in his persuasive and percipient introduction to these *Festschriften*. All the contributions are first-rate and all merit equal comment, but unfortunately space forbids a critical assessment of each. This review must be a catalogue rather than a criticism. Only so can it minimize a limitation inherent in a volume of discrete monographs: the risk that some may escape the attention of those who would be most eager to learn of them.

The essays are arranged under three heads: "Individual Figures," "Historiographic Traditions," and "Problems of Interpretation." Under the first Myron P. Gilmore discusses "Erasmus and the Study of History"; Ralph Bowen, "The Education of an Encyclopedist [Diderot]"; Paul Farmer, "The Social Theory of Frédéric Le Play"; Melvin Kranzberg, "Napoleon III's *Histoire de Jules César*"; Robert F. Byrnes, "Pobedonostsev as a Historian"; Edwin C. Rozwenc, "Henry Adams and the Federalists"; H. Stuart Hughes, "Gaetano Mosca and the Political Lessons of History"; and Paul L. Ward, "Huizinga's Approach to the Middle Ages."

Under "Historiographic Traditions" Burr C. Brundage offers "A Résumé and Interpretation of Ancient Near Eastern Historiography"; Robert Sidney Smith, "Spanish Population Thought before Malthus"; James F. Clarke, "Father Paisi and Bulgarian History"; and John Whitney Hall, "Historiography in Japan." Under "Problems of Interpretation" Allen Gilmore contributes "Trends, Periods and Classes"; John Bowditch, "War and the Historian"; and Frederick S. Allis, Jr., "The Dred Scott Labyrinth."

All the historians represented here graduated from Amherst between 1927 and 1942. All have gone on to do significant research and writing. All handle the tools of their craft expertly and command a luminous and disciplined prose. How much the ripening of their talents was stimulated by the master under whom all studied, how great a debt each owes to his guidance, none outside their group

can estimate. But this reviewer, who has known and profited by Laurence Packard's editorial acuity, can readily believe their debt is beyond computation.

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GEOFFREY BRUUN

EVENTAIL DE L'HISTOIRE VIVANTE: HOMMAGE A LUCIEN FEBVRE OFFERT PAR L'AMITIÉ D'HISTORIENS, LINGUISTES, GÉOGRAPHES, ECONOMISTES, SOCIOLOGUES, ETHNOLOGUES.
In two volumes. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1953. Pp. 452; 468.)

To commemorate his seventy-fifth birthday in 1953, Lucien Febvre's friends and students were happily inspired to pay tribute to the man who, by common accord, is considered the great renovator of historical studies in their country. In this embattled *chef d'école*, "vehement and fond of battle, always going straight to the goal," in the words of his close friend, the distinguished Fernand Braudel, ever "expressing strongly that which is strong," in his own, they see the dynamic and encyclopedic champion of the new history, whose unceasing advocacy of a broader and deeper conception of history and historical methodology has produced, to quote from Braudel again, "une révolution de l'esprit" in France. Their esteem for him has taken the form of this impressive two-volume collection of learned articles, totaling over 900 pages and comprising eighty-three separate contributions.

Overflowing with vitality and enthusiasm, writes Braudel in his revealing pen picture of the man, he is "attentive, charming, impassioned, discreet, dazzling, strewing ideas and recollections with prodigal hand, happy to see all, to discuss all." As professor, up to his recent retirement, at the Collège de France and, before his return to Paris, successively professor at Dijon and Strasbourg, he has fired generations of students whose subsequent brilliant careers as researchers and teachers attest the inspiration they received from him. But it is not his teaching alone, they maintain, nor even his distinguished writings in the sixteenth century that have given him his eminence and won him the admiration of his many associates and disciples. Those activities, notable as they are, were part of his larger crusade, which found expression in his work as editor—of the *Revue de synthèse* where, in 1907, he began his long association with Henri Berr; of the *Annales*, which he founded in 1929 and made one of the great vitalizing forces in French historiography; of the monumental *Encyclopédie française* of which he was an animating spirit and general editor for years.

The *Hommage à Lucien Febvre* then occasions no surprise for those who know his work. But how convey adequately and in fewer words than there are pages in this very work the extraordinary breadth and range of the contributions! To indicate its formal structure might be helpful. The first section deals with "History," its methods, points of view, definitions, and there one finds admirable articles, among others, by Georges Bourgin and Jean Fourastié. In a second section, entitled "Social Sciences," and concerned with questions of geography, psychology,

ethnology, demography, and economics, there are twenty-one articles, including those by R. Schnerb, A. Koyré, and I. Meyerson. A third section of the first volume, covering "The Present," has essays by such outstanding historians as Pierre Renouvin, André Monglond, and Franz van Kalken. In the four sections that make up the second volume, dealing with various historical problems from antiquity to the French Revolution, the reader will again recognize familiar names, Zeller, Meuvret, Renaudet, and Gernet.

But to take note of the formal structure (which at best is somewhat artificial) does little to indicate the astounding heterogeneity of the subject matter. By way of illustration, there are articles, ranging from four to twenty-five pages, on serfdom, slavery in the Middle Ages, the Entente Cordiale, Heidegger, the myth in ancient India, Gide's *Caves du Vatican*, Guicciardini, the contemporary cinema, land problems in Lombardy, social welfare in Spain. There is more than enough to satisfy the most eclectic interests, doubtless of M. Febvre himself.

Still for all their diversity, the contributions are linked together in a broad but real unity. Taken collectively, are they not a magnificent illustration of the impact that Febvre has made upon his age? For he has been no plowman working a single furrow, writes Bourgin in a moving eulogy both of Febvre and of the late Marc Bloch, with whom the former had worked so closely for many years; he has been opening the broadest possible horizons in time and space so that we may understand the least badly possible the most history possible. By his lifelong insistence upon the study of geography, ethnology, psychology, and the other disciplines of the social sciences, by making them in their interrelations the armature and the very stuff of history, he has been "the wise guide, lighting up the road to knowledge." And they also illustrate that aspect of Febvre's work to which Fourastié calls attention, a kind of Baconian conception of history as the search for the condition of human progress, of faith that history thus examined is the vindication of the possibilities of man's action transcending the limiting force of determinism.

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LEO GERSHOY

THE LEGACY OF PERSIA. Edited by A. J. Arberry. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xvi, 421. \$6.00.)

THE well-known "Legacy Series" of the Oxford University Press, which has produced such notable works as *The Legacy of Israel*, *The Legacy of Islam*, *The Legacy of India*, *The Legacy of Greece*, *The Legacy of Rome*, *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, and *The Legacy of Egypt* has put in the reader's hand a new and impressive volume, *The Legacy of Persia*, edited by A. J. Arberry, with fifty-three plates and illustrations.

The work intends "to illustrate some of the many ways in which Persian culture has influenced Persia's neighbors and become a legacy to the whole world" (p. vi). This is unfolded in the following studies indicative of the color-

ful content of the work: "Persia and the Ancient World" (J. H. Iliffe), "Persia and Byzantium" (D. Talbot Rice), "Persia and the Arabs" (R. Levy), "Persia and India after the Conquest of Mahmud" (H. Goetz), "The Islamic Art of Persia" (D. Barrett), "Religion" (G. M. Wickens), "The Persian Language" (H. W. Bailey), "Persian Literature" (A. J. Arberry), "Persian Carpets" (A. C. Edwards), "Persian Gardens" (Hon. V. Sackville-West), "Persian Science" (C. Elgood), "Persia as Seen by the West" (L. Lockhart), "The Royame of Perse" (J. E. Heseltine).

Compared with other "Legacy" books this one seems to fall a bit short of expectations. In the treatment and choice of these subjects there is a considerable lack of proportion, co-ordination, and integration, and an unevenness of presentation which may be unavoidable in a symposium of this kind. There are also conspicuous omissions of important aspects of pre-Islamic Persia, the Zoroastrian religion, and of the Islamic period as well, which surely would constitute "a legacy" of Persia to the world. No mention is made of the important outpost of Achaemenid Persia in Elephantine. The role of the Old Testament in the thinking of the Persians and its influence on classical Persian poetry and art is not sufficiently stressed nor is the influence of classical Persian literature on German literature, on Goethe and his *Westöstlicher Divan* mentioned. G. Vechietti, the Italian traveler to Persia of the sixteenth century, who brought to Europe many Bible versions in Persian translation, should have been listed.

Some articles are penetrating and stimulating, others are too sweeping in their generalization and contain statements which would hardly stand the test of serious criticism. Although this book is not yet the last word as to the role of Persia in world culture, the general reader will derive great benefit from the various studies, most of them written in an easy and readable style by experts in the respective fields and all indicating the wide range of fields in which Persia has made an everlasting contribution.

University of California, Berkeley

WALTER J. FISCHER

SOCIALIST THOUGHT: MARXISM AND ANARCHISM, 1850-1890. By G. D. H. Cole. [A History of Socialist Thought, Volume II.] (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 482. \$6.00.)

This is the second of a series of four or five volumes in which Professor Cole proposes to treat the whole course of socialist thought (see review of Vol. I, *AHR*, January, 1954, p. 411). The work is based on a long and profound study of the sources, and it is unrivaled among accounts in English both in its fullness and in its depth. The center of interest in the present volume is the long struggle between Marxism and anarchism which culminated, in the 1890's, in the dominance of Marxism. The author, in this detailed study which includes all phases of socialism in both Europe and the United States, brings to life many an interesting though forgotten thinker. He has disregarded some of the limitations

he originally set for himself, and, in this second volume, has branched out to write a history not only of socialist thought but of the whole socialist movement. Of the difference in the treatment of the material in these first two volumes, the author himself says that before 1848 "there was no such thing as a Socialist movement possessing a central point of focus. Such a movement came into being only after 1848, and to a great extent after 1860 with the International Working Men's Association, and the struggles within it. These struggles were the birth-pangs of Socialism as an international force acting upon the working classes." In the 1860's, socialism became, for the first time, a working-class movement supported by workers in the factories, mines, and railroads. Theorists, like Fourier and the Saint-Simonians, no longer spun theories in a vacuum. At the same time, the socialist thinkers had now to take account of trade-unionism, and, with the great extensions of the suffrage that came after 1860, with the working-classes in politics.

The reviewer found most interesting the chapters on the First International and on the Paris Commune. There is, likewise, a fascinating analysis of the first volumes of Marx's *Das Kapital*, which includes a comparison of Marx's ideas with those of the laissez-faire economists. In his analysis, Professor Cole, also, shows how Marx failed to adopt his theories to the changing conditions of economic life after 1850. Throughout, the author is cool and detached with no special thesis to prove. That may be one reason why his history seems, at times, to bog down in details, and to lack clarity and force. On the other hand, the ground covered in Volume II is less familiar than that surveyed in the first volume, and, for that reason, Volume II seemed fresher and more informing to this reviewer. This volume, like its predecessor, is provided with an excellent, critical bibliography. Finally, it must be repeated, this work assumes an extended knowledge of nineteenth-century history, as well as general knowledge of both laissez-faire economics and of socialist thought. For such readers, it will prove a work of value and interest.

Oberlin College

FREDERICK B. ARTZ

THE MEANING OF NATIONALISM. By *Louis L. Snyder*. Foreword by Hans Kohn. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1954. Pp. xv, 208. \$4.50.)

THIS book was made possible by a fellowship granted by the Fund for the Advancement of Education (Ford Foundation) "to enable him [the author] to broaden his qualifications for teaching" (preface). He devoted his time to "an appraisal from a multidisciplinary point of view of the meaning of nationalism," and to that end he supplemented his own historical knowledge of the subject by reading extensively in "the findings of the best recent research" by political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists, economists, philosophers, psychologists, psychiatrists, and psychoanalysts, and also by discussing the problems personally

with a number of these scholars. "It is hoped that the material given here will provide a kind of extensive definition [of nationalism] such as might have been presented by the editors of Webster's unabridged dictionary if they had had several hundred pages at their disposal instead of a few inches of space." In a foreword, Professor Hans Kohn calls the book "the first introduction to such an interdisciplinary inquiry," and praises it as an "objective and clearly conceived survey of the results and problems of the different approaches" and states that it "may become the starting point for many further investigations leading to a better grasp of the nature of nationalism and its rôle in modern times."

The author has employed a uniform method in summarizing the views of scholars in the several disciplines about each of the following concepts: the nation, nationality, nationalism, economic nationalism, patriotism, national character, and the national soul. He includes in the index the names of over two hundred experts whose definitions or major ideas he reproduces in these two hundred pages. Sometimes he compresses the views of several authors in a single paragraph; occasionally he devotes several pages to a single book. Carleton J. H. Hayes and especially Hans Kohn receive the highest praise and the most extensive treatment of any historians, and Erich Fromm, Morris Ginsberg, Harold Lasswell, Otto Klineberg, Freud, Kurt Lewin, Ruth Benedict, and Harry Stack Sullivan stand out among the social scientists and psychologists. In the chapter on "Classifications of Nationalism" he discusses more than thirty kinds of nationalism. His concluding statement about George Orwell may be offered as one example. "This classification by Orwell is an ingenious one because it emphasizes the idea that nationalism, in its extended sense, includes such movements as Communism, political Catholicism, Zionism, and anti-Semitism. . . . From this broader and all-inclusive view, nationalism, in Orwell's words, becomes 'power-hunger tempered by self-deception'" (p. 130).

The reviewer fears that the statements about the views of each expert in non-historical fields are abbreviated beyond the point of comprehension. He further fears that the author's indiscriminate mixture of social scientific and psychological concepts that express wisdom and those that conceal trivia will confuse the reader, and he wishes that the author had weeded out the antiquated items from his otherwise useful bibliography.

University of Nebraska

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

TOTALITARIANISM: PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE HELD AT THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES. Edited with an Introduction by *Carl J. Friedrich*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 386. \$6.50.)

TOTALITARIANISM by definition includes everything, and, while two score experts could not take up everything in three days, they did discuss much more than a short review can even summarize. Moreover, the experts came to present

the results of their study, not to arrive at a consensus; therefore, despite Carl Friedrich's neat summary of the proceedings, no agreed conclusions emerge. That fact is important in itself: on the most pressing problem, and the most ominous historical development, of our day, there is wide divergence of opinion among those who have studied totalitarianism most intensively.

There is divergence on facts. Bertram Wolfe maintains that in the U.S.S.R. history "is once more a form of poetry in its primary sense of myth-making" and that "Operation Palimpsest" moves "outward in space, backward in time, ever more profound in depth and ever more attentive even to minuscule detail." Michael Karpovich, on the other hand, points out that "some good things are still being done," and doubts whether control over scientific labor can ever be completely effective. There is divergence on the significance of agreed facts. H. J. Muller, after reviewing the political interference with science in the U.S.S.R., concludes that "Soviet science is bound eventually to wither unless the Soviet political system becomes greatly moderated." George de Santillana, after reviewing the same evidence, concludes that "what this does to a man's character can be described only in terms of Dante's Hell, but it does not mean that scientific research cannot go on under the mask of new behaviors."

One problem recurs in the formal essays and the discussion: whether or not, once a totalitarian government is securely in power, ideology is of major importance, particularly as a factor shaping the judgment and affecting the actions of those at the top. George Kennan believes that, "what is essential is only the seizure, organization, and ruthless exercise of power." The rulers of the U.S.S.R. use "the myth and the scapegoat . . . in a rather half-hearted and routine way"; he apparently believes the rulers of the U.S.S.R. have themselves no faith in the myths they propagate. At the other extreme, Waldemar Gurian argued that "the ideology is the driving force." For him, nazism and communism were the "politico-social secularized religions, characteristic of our epoch."

This is not only a problem for scholars to scrutinize; it is the most pressing problem facing the policy-makers of the Western world today. If the rulers of the U.S.S.R. are cold political realists interested only in the preservation and, if possible, the extension of their power, then peace is assured if these realists can be confronted with power sufficient to make further aggression hazardous. If, however, as Hannah Arendt argues, these rulers believe that dialectical materialism has discovered the laws of social and political change, "that facts can be manipulated and that experience is irrelevant," then the most sober estimates of Soviet capabilities and intentions based on the balance of political and military power can be dangerously misleading. As Alex Inkeles warns, "there is no threat to others greater than the pursuit by rational means of an essentially irrational goal."

The historian, recalling Neville Chamberlain's vain efforts to convince Hitler that continued Nazi aggression would mean war, and that war could have no more successful outcome for Germany than engulfment in the common ruin

of Western civilization, must conclude that it would be hazardous to count on coldly rational decision by the rulers of the U.S.S.R.

Other momentous questions weave in and out of this discussion of totalitarianism. While the discussion reaches no agreed conclusions, it is a thought-provoking and invaluable contribution to an understanding of the problem which dominates our age.

University of California, Berkeley

RAYMOND J. SONTAG

Ancient and Medieval History

GALEN OF PERGAMON. By *George Sarton*. [Logan Clendenning Lectures on the History and Philosophy of Medicine, Third Series.] (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1954. Pp. 112. \$2.50.)

ANCIENT SCIENCE AND MODERN CIVILIZATION. By *George Sarton*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1954. Pp. 111. \$2.50.)

In his introduction to *Galen of Pergamon* Professor Sarton states: "In my opinion, the reading aloud of a written paper is a cardinal sin, as deplorable as meretricious writing; it is a wicked procedure, utterly contemptuous of the audience and unfair to it." This interesting, though perhaps not uniformly applicable, point of view is set forth in order to explain that the two books here reviewed served as a basis for two lecture series, but not as their text. Nevertheless, both books have a vivaciousness of expression, remindful of the spoken word, that is as refreshing to the reader as it is rare in works of this nature.

Although Galen has been the subject of numerous studies and although Professor Sarton himself has previously written about this great physician of antiquity, his most recent contribution is eminently valuable. In spite of its lightness and brevity, this book brings together all the information that is necessary for an understanding of Galen's life and his tremendous influence upon the medical thought of centuries. It describes the setting of Galen's life in the Roman world and in Pergamon; it presents Galen's biography and personality; it analyzes his numerous writings and fits them into the contemporary medical scene; it shows him as a worker in many medical specialties and in almost as many cultural and scholarly pursuits.

Of additional value are the three appendixes, which furnish a chronological summary of Galen's life and a glossary of Galen's contemporaries; the appendixes also contain a list of all Galenic treatises translated from the Arabic and of the texts available in English translation.

Most of Galen's life (A.D. 130-200) coincided with the Golden Age of the Roman Empire when ancient science was at its height and a man of Galen's stature, while rare, was not entirely unique. The place held by him in the history of medicine is equaled by that which was held by his somewhat older contem-

porary Ptolemy in the history of science. This personality, his scientific antecedents and successors are presented in Dr. Sarton's second lecture series.

Ancient Science and Modern Civilization is composed of three essays, dealing with the world of Hellenism as personified by Euclid and Ptolemy, and with the decline of Greek science and culture. Its thesis can perhaps be best expressed in Dr. Sarton's own words: "Modern civilization is focussed upon science and technology and modern science is but the continuation of ancient science; it would not exist without the latter." Like its modern extension, ancient science was fostered by a propitious intellectual climate, and it is this atmosphere of thought and culture as well as the specific contributions of the individual scientists that are here described with such clarity and distinction.

Thus, in addition to an analysis of Euclid's main work, the *Elements*, and its influence on present-day geometry, the author discusses Euclid's personality and the molding impact of the city of Alexandria, its library and museum and its cosmopolitan flavor which is compared to that of Hong Kong and New York. Similarly, the chapter dealing with Ptolemy is prefaced by a description of his cultural setting before his geographical, optical, and astrological works are discussed in some detail.

The third section of *Ancient Science* deals with a variety of scientific subjects and personalities, spanning the period of A.D. 300-529. This final date was chosen because it was then that Justinian closed the Academy of Athens because it had become a center of resistance to Christianity. Here a poignant discussion of the philosophical and religious background of this era and the intolerance generated by the "good Christians" leads Dr. Sarton to resume his comparison with the modern scene of science. The closing of the Athenian Academy and the persecution instigated by Byzantine orthodoxy driving into exile many Greek scientists bring to mind more recent events when refugees carrying "... wisdom and knowledge from one place to another ... did cause a loss ... not for humanity but for their own country."

University of Chicago

ILZA VEITH

ASTROLOGY IN ROMAN LAW AND POLITICS. By *Frederick H. Cramer*, Late Professor of History, Mount Holyoke College. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XXXVII.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1954. Pp. x, 291. \$5.00.)

THE tragic accidental death of Frederick H. Cramer, September 4, 1954, has cut short an able scholar's valuable and fruitful research in a special field, the importance of whose bearing on ancient life, literature, and history has by no means, as he rightly lamented, attracted due interest and appreciation.

This volume is of much greater magnitude than the above heading might perhaps suggest. For the format of the American Philosophical Society *Memoirs* is a medium quarto and the page carries two columns of text. As the subtitle

"Astrology in Rome until the End of the Principate" (that is, for Cramer, through Alexander Severus), indicates, there was projected a sequel volume to continue the story through Justinian. The work lays the student of ancient Rome under heavy debt. For the author has sifted through an imposing mass of evidence, much of it very *recherché*. But some caution in the use is advisable, especially if one is not reading consecutively, for what is with perfect candor labeled conjecture on one page sometimes appears on the next as assumed fact.

Part I, "The Rise and Triumph of Astrology in the Latin World," comprises four chapters: "The Rise of Astrology in the Hellenistic World"; "The Conversion of Republican Rome to Astrology (250-44 B.C.)," narrating the struggle of the "science" against reasoned skepticism in Roman intellectual circles; at considerable length, "Astrologers—the Power Behind the Throne from Augustus to Domitian"; and, still more lengthy, "Astrology in Rome from Nerva to the Death of Severus Alexander (96-235)." There is here much of fascinating interest and great value which the student of Roman literature, of Roman social life and culture, of Roman political history, will do well not to neglect.

Part II is devoted to the legal aspect of the subject. Chapter v, "Expulsion of Astrologers from Rome and Italy," embodies "except for minor changes" the author's article in *Classica et Mediaevalia*, XII (1951), 9-50. Chapter vi, "Empire Wide Legal Restrictions of Astrology and Other Divination during the Principate," similarly "is essentially based" on the article "The Caesars and the Stars," in *Seminar*, IX (1951), 1-35; X (1952), 1-52. In this area the author and the present reviewer found mutual interest in common problems, and, generally in agreement, occasionally in amicable disagreement, carried on an intermittent correspondence, which the reviewer will desiderate.

The restricted compass of this notice hardly admits of any detail. But two prosopographical items may be mentioned. It is probably a mistake to identify the Ptolemaeus of Tac. *Hist.* 1.22 and Plut. *Galb.* 23, whom Suetonius, *Otho* 4.6, calls Seleucus, with the Seleucus of Tac. *Hist.* 2.78. That is, Otho's astrologer and Vespasian's were not the same person. Better to consider that Suetonius has erred in the former's name. So, Hirschfeld *apud PIR*¹, P, 766. And whatever may be the final decision on the very controversial identification (p. 95 and notes 118, 119) of the astrologer Balbillus (*PIR*², B, 38) with Ti. Claudius Balbillus (*PIR*², C, 813 with addenda), the prefect of Egypt, the latter must, surely, not be identified also with the homonymous (*PIR*², C, 812) Alexandrian envoy to Claudius in 41 (pp. 113 f.).

There are nice illustrations of Babylonian horoscopal tablets, of Hellenistic and Roman coins bearing astrological types, of sculptured portraits of several emperors and empresses, of Hadrian's horoscope; a most unbeautiful map; and an eight-page index of ancient proper names.

Duke University

ROBERT SAMUEL ROGERS

THE PAINTED MEN. By T. C. Lethbridge, Hon. Keeper of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities, University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1954. Pp. 208. \$6.00.)

It is regrettable that a scholar so thoroughly steeped in early British history, as is the author of this book, has not chosen to divulge more of the rich information about the Picts that he has acquired from years of digging and exploration in Scotland. When Mr. Lethbridge describes the Pictish dwellings—the brochs and wheel-houses—and when he takes you on one of his expeditions and shows you how the mind of the archaeologist works, he writes a fresh and fascinating story. But unfortunately, too much of this book, whose purpose would seem to be an explanation of the settlement of northern Britain by the Picts and of their culture, is devoted to themes often repeated and but slightly connected with the subject. The author does not like the Romans, thinks little of their occupation of Britain, and glories in the fact that they never conquered the “Painted Men,” the name they gave to the Picts. Surely anyone familiar with English history would find it difficult to agree with Mr. Lethbridge’s statement concerning British resistance to Roman rule: “Roman rule was an alien thing enforced by the sword. The same independent spirit, which caused the Peasants’ Revolt against the monasteries in 1381, or the Tudor’s break with the Pope, was alive in Britain all through the long years of Roman rule.” He has a point, however, when he says that the Anglo-Saxons did not so much conquer Britain as settle it by invitation and that they did not wipe out the British population (Celtic or Gaulish in origin). But certainly he cannot be serious when, after declaring that the British of today have more of the Celtic than of the German in them, he argues that this explains the great difference between the British and the Germans and then draws the moral that if this difference had “been realized by statesmen on both sides of the North Sea, two great wars could probably have been avoided.” Possibly when Mr. Lethbridge writes that the “Norman Conquest was the last wave of barbarian invaders,” he is using the word “barbarian” as Herodotus used it when referring to the Persians and other peoples whose cultures were non-Greek, but, if so, he ought to tell us. The reviewer is aware that this book was written more for the general reader than for the specialist and that it was meant to stimulate interest in a period of British history too much neglected, but such statements as the above cannot fail to blunt the author’s argument. It might also be pointed out that even if the author thinks references “can be found in reports,” he has included a number too meager to help those of us who would like to pursue further the history of these mysterious Picts.

If the author had been content to limit himself to his subject, *The Painted Men*, a result of years of archaeological experience and expert knowledge, could have been a real contribution to the early history of Britain and the Picts.

Harvard University

BRYCE D. LYON

MEDIAEVAL INSTITUTIONS: SELECTED ESSAYS. By *Carl Stephenson*, Cornell University. Edited by *Bryce D. Lyon*, Harvard University. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 289. \$5.00.)

MOST teachers of early European history in this country were so grateful to Carl Stephenson for his clear and stimulating essay on feudalism, his excellent textbook, and his remarkably usable collection of documents on English constitutional history that they tended to forget his other contributions to medieval history. This collection of his articles will remind us that he could write clearly for the many because he had mastered documents known only to the few, that behind those deceptively simple pages of the *Mediaeval History* or *Mediaeval Feudalism* lay the solid and scholarly studies which appeared, decade after decade, in the historical periodicals of France, Belgium, England, and the United States.

Stephenson was one of the first of a new generation of American medievalists, a generation no longer dependent on European masters, trained in American universities by American scholars. Early in his career he saw that American remoteness from European documents was compensated, to some extent, by remoteness from European national quarrels and prejudices. As he pointed out again and again, the development of towns, taxation, representative assemblies, and feudalism cannot be understood if studied exclusively within the limits of a single modern nation. The comparative method was especially fruitful for the area within which he worked—north France, the Low Countries, west Germany, and England—where institutions spread from one province to another with little regard to national or linguistic boundaries.

Basing his work solidly on the documents, Stephenson had little patience with those who tried to fill in the gaps in the evidence by reconstructions based on later materials or modern preconceptions. He distrusted explanations which were too complicated; his own approach was simple, straightforward, based on common sense. This sometimes led him to rather sweeping judgments: it is hard to believe, in the face of Saxon evidence, that the warrior-farmer never existed, or to accept his view that the menial flavor of the words used to describe early vassals in all languages has no significance. But in many other cases—for example, in his article on the *taille*—his method of relying on the obvious and literal meaning of the documents terminated some fine-spun and rather unrealistic scholarly distinctions.

This volume contains Stephenson's articles on the aids of French towns, the *taille*, representation, Domesday problems, feudalism, and the common man in the early Middle Ages. The articles on urban institutions were omitted since their substance was included in Stephenson's *Borough and Town*. Except for correction of minor errors the essays are unrevised; it is a tribute to Stephenson that they need little revision. It is sad that the author did not live to see the publication of this book and to enjoy the praise which it will receive. The thanks

of all medievalists are due to the editor, Mr. Lyon, and to the Cornell University Press for presenting such important essays in such a useful and attractive form.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

WINFRID-BONIFATIUS UND DIE CHRISTLICHE GRUNDLEGUNG EUROPAS. By *Theodor Schieffer*. (Freiburg: Verlag Herder. 1954. Pp. x, 326. DM 15.80.)

THIS monograph by the professor of medieval history at the University of Bonn, well known from his earlier study *Angelsachsen und Franken* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, 1950), is more than a biography of St. Boniface. The book is a convincing object lesson in the truth that a man and his work must be genetically explained from his times. The first two chapters describe the political and religious condition of Europe (including Byzantium) about 700, and the pre-Bonifatian missions in the Frankish kingdom. The three remaining parts deal with Winfrid-Bonifatius' Anglo-Saxon monastic background and his frustrated attempts to convert the Frisians; then, with his conversion of Hessians and Thuringians and his efforts to reform and reorganize the Frankish church in the unfavorable atmosphere of Charles Martel's reign; finally, with his successful reformatory and organizational work under Carloman and Pepin the Short, followed only too soon by the eclipse of his personal influence and his martyr's death in still pagan Frisia but, nevertheless, carried on by that whole development of "church-state relations" which resulted in the renewal of the *Imperium Christianum* in the West under Charlemagne.

Rightly, then, Professor Schieffer sees in Boniface the crucial figure in the decisively formative phase of the Roman-Germanic, or more concretely, the Carolingian-papal, relationship. At the same time, Professor Schieffer dispels several narrow or anachronistic preconceptions which are found in many earlier evaluations of St. Boniface and his times. So he considers the epithet "Apostle of the Germans" misleading as it does not do full justice to the much wider scope of Boniface's life work—even apart from the fact that one can hardly speak of Germany before the tenth century. Boniface's Roman orientation on the other hand, his energetic and largely effective linking of the Frankish church reform to the authority of the papacy must not be seen as exclusive. Boniface could never have achieved anything without the assistance of Carloman and Pepin, who did not intend to relinquish their political control of the Frankish church.

Professor Schieffer, who uses the descriptive term *Romverbundene Landeskirche* for the ecclesiastical situation of Francia in Boniface's time, holds with good reason that one should not inject the much later categories of the Hildebrandian church reform into the eighth century, although one might perhaps wish that he had indicated also how the unsolved problems of early Carolingian "church-state relations" manifested their virulence already in the later Carolingian

period. In this connection, the author's discussion of the reasons for the slowing up of the Bonifatian reform work itself soon after its culmination in 744 is extremely interesting. During the last years of Boniface's life Pepin seems to have withdrawn much of his support from the Anglo-Saxon reformer, because he had to reckon with the antagonism of the "vested interests" of the Frankish secular and ecclesiastical magnates. Boniface's disillusionment is movingly reflected in his letters. Yet, Pepin and a younger generation of Frankish ecclesiastics did not abandon all that which had been achieved by Boniface and his Anglo-Saxon helpers. They rather kept a middle course along which they anticipated the far-reaching identification of ecclesiastical and "political" concerns which is characteristic for the age of Charlemagne.

Fordham University

GERHART B. LADNER

COMMERCE ET MARCHANDS DE TOULOUSE (VERS 1350-VERS 1450).

By *Philippe Wolff*, Professeur à l'Université de Toulouse. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1954. Pp. xxxi, 710. 2400 fr.)

IN France until recently economic history was a rather neglected field, but a great change has occurred since World War II and it is now much better cultivated. This result is largely due to the unrelenting campaign waged by the editors of *Annales*, the late Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre. There has appeared a group of remarkable studies devoted to the trade of regional centers during the medieval period: the collective work in three volumes on the commerce of Marseilles, Jean Schneider's book on Metz, and that of Michel Mollat on Rouen and the revival of Norman trade so badly disrupted by the Hundred Years' War. Now Philippe Wolff adds to this series an excellent study on Toulouse from about 1350 to about 1450.

During this period Toulouse never rose to the rank of an important trading and banking center with world-wide connections, but it acted as the market town for the surrounding district and revolved in the orbit of Barcelona and Montpellier. Toulouse also maintained active relations with Bordeaux and, rather surprisingly, with the distant fairs of Geneva, which became exceedingly important after the eclipse of Paris around 1410.

Most of the period was one of demographic and economic decline, a result of the Black Death and a succession of calamities including war, famine, and pestilence. Toulouse produced no Jacques Coeur, no large fortunes, no great banking houses; occasionally a successful merchant became a gentleman and founded an unglamorous dynasty of country squires. Only the university gave some luster to the town. Forms of business organization remained simple, as compared with the level reached contemporaneously by the Italians, and still forced the Toulouse merchants or their factors to travel a great deal and to make regular trips to Montpellier and Barcelona, in order to fetch foreign wares, mainly spices and cloth. Of course, there was no specialization, in Toulouse no more

than anywhere else: medieval merchants, as a rule, took advantage of all opportunities that came along. Bookkeeping was still in a rudimentary stage—far less advanced than in Italy.

Because of the lack of currency, the granting of credit was a common practice, but bills of exchange, although not entirely unknown, were little used and then only to transfer funds to other places. Presumably there was no regular market for bills, since Toulouse, unlike Montpellier or Barcelona, was not a banking center.

The general picture is far from rosy, but it is true to life. All medieval towns were not rivals of Florence or Venice, and Professor Wolff has performed a real service by reminding us that merchant-princes were the exception and that medieval business was predominantly conducted on a small scale. His book on Toulouse is a valuable contribution precisely because it gives us a realistic view of trade in a provincial town.

Boston College

RAYMOND DE ROOVER

THE NAUTICAL CHART OF 1424 AND THE EARLY DISCOVERY AND CARTOGRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION OF AMERICA: A STUDY ON THE HISTORY OF EARLY NAVIGATION AND CARTOGRAPHY. By *Armando Cortesão*. Foreword by Maximino Correia. (Coimbra, Portugal: University of Coimbra; distrib. by J. F. Arnaldo, c/o Banco Espírito Santo e Comercial de Lisboa, Coimbra. 1954. Pp. xix, 123. \$25.00.)

Conimbricenses is a citation frequently encountered in learned works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and refers to a group of schoolmen, famous for their commentaries upon the books of Aristotle and taking their name from the University of Coimbra in Portugal. Now that university sponsors and issues the handsome folio volume which is before us for review, with a foreword by "the Rector Magnificus of the nearly seven centuries old University."

Besides large folding reproductions of the Nautical Chart of 1424, there are eighteen full-page plates, mostly of other maps before and after it, seven other figures and four tables. Pages 12–18 are occupied by lists of the place names on the chart of 1424 and their identification. Table II is double-page, comparing the Atlantic islands named on successive maps from 1325 to 1430. Except for such foreign names, the text, although printed in Portugal, is in English, and some slips in spelling, for which the author apologizes but which even his list of errata does not fully cover, slightly mar what is otherwise a very attractive piece of printing.

The main contention of this volume is that the name Antilia is found for the first time in this map of 1424, that Antilia is a word of Portuguese origin, although the cartographer was a Venetian, and that the islands so designated and located west of the Azores are evidence that the Portuguese mariners had already by this time reached the outskirts of the American continent. We may accept the

first part of this contention, and further add that those islands continue to be represented in subsequent charts with the same unnatural rectangular shape as in the chart of 1424. A secondary thesis, that the ancient Phoenicians reached America, is admittedly based on no sufficient documentary or other positive evidence.

The author quotes my account of the *terra incognita* mentioned by Giovanni da Fontana in the first half of the fifteenth century, which I showed was thought to lie south of the Indian Ocean in the Southern Hemisphere. I pointed out also that, as a consequence of the then generally held view that not more than a quarter of the earth's surface was raised above the enclosing sphere of water, this supposition of a continent in the Southern Hemisphere would tend to the inference that there was no land in the Western Hemisphere, except possibly a few islands, and so would discourage voyages of discovery in that direction. Of this Cortesão says nothing. He does say, "Lynn Thorndike thinks, however, that 'the *terra incognita* to which Fontana refers was neither South nor North America'" (p. 99). Yet on the very next page he speaks of "Fontana's reference to the unknown lands bounding the Atlantic in the west." Fontana made no such reference. What he referred to was a *terra incognita* which he supposed landlocked the Indian Ocean to the south.

Cortesão cites some of the grants to Portuguese of islands they had seen or expected to discover in the Atlantic, which constitute evidence of westward voyages later in the century than 1424; and he lists in his bibliography *Alguns documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo . . .*, edited by José Ramos-Coelho (Lisbon, 1892). But, like other recent writers on the age of discovery, he fails to note the interesting account of such royal grants in F. de Almeida, *La découverte de l'Amérique*, although it too was printed at Coimbra, in 1913.

It may be further noted that Cortesão would date the famous Laurentian Portolano about 1370 rather than about 1351, as it has hitherto usually been dated.

The Nautical Chart of 1424 was once in the famous collection of manuscripts made by Sir Thomas Phillipps. Since the volume under review appeared, the chart has been acquired by the James Ford Bell Collection at the University of Minnesota, "... farther West / Than your sires' Islands of the Blest."

Columbia University

LYNN THORNDIKE

A HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES. Volume III, THE KINGDOM OF ACRE AND THE LATER CRUSADES. By *Steven Runciman*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 530. \$6.50.)

THE appearance of the third, the final, volume of Runciman's *History of the Crusades* invites appraisal of the work as a whole. With the exception of three chapters near the end of this volume, particularly the last one, the work fulfills the promise implied in the first volume. It affords English readers a comprehensive narrative of the Crusades from 1095 to 1463 comparable to the best by a single author in any language. The author's lively style, his vivid portrayal of

personalities, his positive judgments on men and events, interspersed as they are with pertinent wit, sustain the reader's interest throughout the three volumes. The work deserves all the encomiums it has received in literary circles.

In this third volume, as in the second, the author has had to rely chiefly upon the works of other scholars. Though he appears to have verified many of their findings by citing the primary sources from which they drew, his own original contributions are most marked in the first and early chapters of the second volume. Nevertheless the scholarly quality of the whole work is maintained at a high level, thanks to the author's wide acquaintance with recent writings in this field which he has used with discrimination. This is the more remarkable, since British scholars with the brilliant exception of T. A. Archer have displayed only an incidental interest in the Crusades, and the author has therefore had to draw upon the contributions of scholars of other lands, most of them in foreign languages. It is somewhat regrettable that he seems to have become aware of American contributions to the subject rather late in his work, which accounts for his haphazard appropriation of their findings.

Runciman's deep interest in and good knowledge of the Near East, which enhances the value of all three volumes, has rendered him definitely biased in favor of the Byzantine Empire, whose fortunes appear to serve him as the yardstick by which to measure the net results of the crusading movement. But, were the Byzantine Greeks quite as blameless for the calamities which befell them as he would have us believe? Could the Venetians, least of all Doge Enrico Dandolo, have completely forgotten in 1202 the wholesale massacre of thousands of their kinsmen in Constantinople in 1182, just twenty years before?

It is when the author leaves his political-ecclesiastical narrative and ventures into the analytical summary of effects that he loses the admiration of this reviewer. He is here dependent upon others, and his usual good judgment fails. His discussion of "The Commerce of *Outremer*" is too limited and quite inadequate; that of architecture and the arts somewhat better, though not sufficiently comprehensive.

The last chapter, "The Summing Up," struck this reviewer as an unfortunate anticlimax, however well written. Viewed purely as a military enterprise, the author's judgment "that the whole movement was a vast fiasco" flies in the face of the fact, so well described earlier by himself, that it established and maintained a large bridgehead in the Near East for nearly two centuries. Bearing in mind that the establishment and maintenance of this bridgehead was the common enterprise of all Latin Christendom from the British Isles and Ireland to Hungary, from Scandinavia to Italy, the author's assertion that "the Crusades had nothing to do with the new security which enabled merchants and scholars to travel as they pleased" has a very hollow sound. His further assertion that "intellectually *Outremer* added next to nothing," supporting this conclusion with the statement that St. Louis spent "several years there without the slightest effect on his cultural outlook" raises an interesting question. How stupid does he think

the millions of our forebears who as crusaders, pilgrims, merchants, and scholars too made the long journey to Jerusalem and the Near East, some of them several times, could have been?

Finally, to conclude that "the Crusades were a tragic and destructive episode" and that "the Holy War itself was nothing more than a long act of intolerance in the name of God which is a sin against the Holy Ghost" may be appropriate in rounding out a literary tragedy, but is it history?

It is, however, asking quite too much of any individual to have mastered all aspects of a movement that involved all Christendom and much of Islam over a period of more than four centuries. I fear that Runciman has left a major task for the editors of the collaborative work on the *History of the Crusades*, now being published by the University of Pennsylvania Press: the establishment of the true significance of the crusading movement.

University of Minnesota

A. C. KREY

THE ENGLISH TRAVELER TO ITALY. Volume I, THE MIDDLE AGES (TO 1525). By *George B. Parks*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1954. Pp. xx, 669. \$10.00.)

THIS stout volume presents a large amount of information about medieval English travel to Italy: the travelers, the routes, their experiences, and the impressions made by them and upon them. This first attempt was difficult because of lack of monographic material and the scattered character of the sources. It is good to have the information collected (although more will be found) and a solid beginning achieved in the problem of interpretation and classification.

In time the amount of information becomes progressively more, yet ninety-seven pages are devoted to travel in Roman and Anglo-Saxon times, mostly about royalty and higher churchmen going to Rome. From 1066 the closer connections between England and the papacy drew many more to Italy to attend councils, continue litigation, and secure papal approval or consecration. Between 1066 and 1300 such new interests as the Crusades and advanced study, notably at Bologna, attracted numbers of the English. The several routes can be defined more accurately (as in the map by Matthew Paris), the dangers described more vividly (as by Gerald of Wales), and the sights in Italy outlined for sightseers (as by Master Gregory).

The third period (1300-1530) sees more regular and permanent connections between the two lands, notably by the diplomatic representatives of the countries. Some quantitative estimates of numbers of clerks and pilgrims can be secured from English government records and the English hospice archives at Rome. Much is known about the presence of the English military companies (such as that of the well-known John Hawkwood, whose name must have baffled the Italian tongue) and of numerous merchants. Italy became even more attractive

as a student center when the Hundred Years' War made attendance at French universities more difficult.

The author emphasizes that "for our medieval traveler the south was not an attraction but a peril, and palms have not yet been mentioned in the travel literature. Our travelers went for a purpose, on the business of trade or diplomacy or religious duty. They were expected to derive edification, not pleasure, and they looked at the works of man, not knowing yet that they were to be pleased by the works of nature." The results of the travel are given only tentatively: the evidence is not easy to interpret. Probably Renaissance and medieval specialists will agree that the travelers did bring back an interest in Greek. The book illustrates the international character of medieval civilization by failing to show much borrowing from one by the other.

The author translates at length several interesting accounts of travel, rendering some rather inaccessible information available. In an appendix there is a valuable list of Englishmen at Italian universities before 1525. The printing was done, appropriately, at Rome, with so few typographical errors that other scholars faced by the high cost of printing might consider foreign publication.

University of New Mexico

JOSIAH C. RUSSELL

DIE LETZTEN TAGE VON KONSTANTINOPEL: DER AUF DEN FALL
KONSTANTINOPELS 1453 BEZÜGLICHE TEIL DES DEM GEOR-
GIOS SPHRANTZES ZUGESCHRIEBENEN "CHRONICON MAIUS."
Edited by *Endre von Ivánka*. [Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, Volume I.]
(Graz: Styria. 1954. Pp. 101. S. 25.80.)

EUROPA IM XV. JAHRHUNDERT VON BYZANTINERN GESEHEN.
[Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, Volume II.] (Graz: Styria. 1954. Pp. 191.
S. 36.60.)

THESE two paperbound volumes, printed in clear type on good paper, are the beginning of a new series of German translations from Byzantine historians. The editor, Professor Endre von Ivánka, explains in his preface that the series will contain historical sources of literary merit. Accordingly he expresses the hope that it will appeal to historians who do not read Greek as well as to the general public.

The two books contain texts distinguished by their liveliness and closeness to the events. The first volume consists of excerpts from the *Chronicum Maius* attributed (perhaps wrongly) to Georgios Sphrantzes. They describe the journey of Emperor John VIII to the Council of Florence (1439), the battle of Varna (1444), and the abortive marriage projects of the last Byzantine emperor Constantine XI. Yet the high point of the volume is the report on the siege and capture of Constantinople in 1453. Just prior to the final attack emperor and sultan admonish their troops in a pair of speeches, late specimens of a venerable historiographical tradition. Constantine's oration is touching: the defenders are reminded that they

are the descendants of Hellenes and Romans and that Constantinople had once ruled "almost the entire earth."

The second volume, prepared by Franz Grabler and Günther Stökl, contains the extensive geographical and ethnological digressions in Laonicus Chalcocondyles' history; Lascaris Cananus' brief diary of a journey through Scandinavia, along the Baltic coast of Germany and to Iceland; two epistles written by the famous scholar Manuel Chrysoloras in praise of Rome; and finally an Old Russian travelogue of Isidore of Kiev's journey to the Council of Florence. It is curious to read in a Byzantine source of Roland (p. 23) and of Joan of Arc (p. 26), of English wool (p. 28) and of Flemish trade (p. 22), of the Hundred Years' War (pp. 24 f.), of the Teutonic Knights (p. 34) and of the constitutional and business life of Italian cities in the Renaissance (pp. 40-60). Nothing else gives so clear an idea of the abyss separating western Europe and the Near East as these descriptions in which fact and fiction appear in a strange blend. This abyss is bridged only occasionally, as for instance in Chrysoloras' epistles on Rome where the sight of pagan and Christian relics reminds the learned author of his own native Constantinople and her ancient traditions. The Russian traveler on the other hand is overwhelmed by the sight of Western cities like Hanseatic Lübeck (pp. 156 f.) or Renaissance Florence (pp. 164 f.).

The translations are readable and, to judge from spot checks, accurate. The introductions are adequate and up-to-date. A similar series of *English* translations from Byzantine texts would render a real service to historical scholarship and instruction in this country.

Brandeis University

PAUL J. ALEXANDER

Modern European History

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE ON THE EVE OF COLONIZATION, 1603-1630.

By *Wallace Notestein*. [New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1954. Pp. xvii, 302. \$5.00.)

THIS book gives ample evidence that it has been written by an authority with great erudition. On every hand are signs of extensive knowledge of a wide range of sources. The supporting data are well chosen. The style is easy and the various chapters leave a very clear impression. The illustrations are extremely valuable and will be new to most readers. Whether the later portraits of James I show any "self-satisfaction" is disputable. The bibliography should be most useful. It contains not a mere list of titles but a learned discussion of the best sources and later works.

In the preface is the statement that "some account was also needed of the political institutions which affected the colonists." The question at once arises whether the choice of subjects in general was not dictated by the same principle. There are, for example, no chapters devoted to the court, Church of England, or

literature, though many apt citations prove how well Dr. Notestein knows the plays, poetry, and prose of the period. Except for a brief allusion under universities, next to nothing is said about sports and pastimes. One short chapter covers the clergy but two longer ones the Puritans. The most dubious statement in the whole book occurs at the beginning of chapter xiv—that a small degree of toleration would have kept the Puritans within the Anglican church. In view of what happened from 1640 to 1660 this is a hard saying. The decision not to deal with London separately may be wise, but, even so, space might have been found for the growth of the London season, especially as room is provided for its provincial imitations (p. 114). The rise of prices which affected all classes deserved more than a few passing references. Whether the rack rents (p. 72) did more than offset the decreasing value of money was worth discussion. Though recognizing with Dr. Notestein that the generation he describes was not static “and therefore not easy to picture,” the reader sometimes wonders in what directions society was then moving. That the House of Commons was advancing new claims is clearly discernible in the excellent chapter on parliamentary history, but progress is harder to perceive in other places. Sometimes the author seems uncertain what the change was. “A lack of compassion was characteristic of many. . . . But already there was a humaneness of outlook and pity for the poor” (pp. 14, 24). Two differing estimates are provided for the petty constables. In one place they are said to have kept the village going. Later occurs the verdict: “A few proved something like leaders in the village, but most of them were little more than servants of the justice” (pp. 228, 235). The chapters on local government give a lively picture of the many and manifold duties of the J.P.’s and officials like the constables and parish officers. Perhaps not enough attention has been paid to the difference between practice and precept. More importance might have been allotted to the problem how to keep the peace and prevent local disputes from expanding. The fear that unrest might spread and become a general rising was responsible for much of the preoccupation with vagrancy, unemployment, destitution, and inns or ale-houses, possible foci of discontent. The amateur and more or less voluntary character of local government might have been stressed as well as the absence of a direct chain of command. Curiously enough, the informer is never mentioned, though both manuals and quarter session records show how much law enforcement depended on him, especially in cases involving the Roman Catholic and the middleman.

Notwithstanding these criticisms and certain trivial errors, this is a book that all interested in the England of the Virginia and New England plantations should “read, mark, learn and inwardly digest.”

Huntington Library

GODFREY DAVIES

THE GREAT WAR FOR THE EMPIRE: THE CULMINATION, 1760-1763.
By *Lawrence Henry Gipson*, Research Professor of History Emeritus, Lehigh University, and One Time Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth Professor of American

History, the University of Oxford. [The British Empire before the American Revolution, Volume VIII.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1954. Pp. xxxii, 313, xlix. \$7.50.)

IN his eighth volume, in which Gipson deals with the war outside America, in the Far East, in Europe, in Africa, in the West Indies, and on the high seas, and concludes with a discriminating chapter on the Peace of Paris, he reveals himself at his best. The canvas which a great historian paints shows detail in its every part, so that the onlooker coming close can see the individual figures, smell the gun smoke, understand why a decision was reached and why it succeeded or failed, at the same time that, when he steps back, the broad lines of the picture, which are the ones he will remember, emerge clear and unconfused. Gipson does the small scenes, for this particular part of the war, better than they have ever been done before. He uses as much source material as he needs, without pretending to exhaust it all. He chooses for emphasis in the account of each action the factors or incidents or personnel which made for success. Though by temperament as by philosophy reluctant to place blame on an individual, he bestows credit for success judiciously. He is concise without sacrifice of significant detail.

The broad lines of Gipson's canvas emerge also, in this volume, more clearly than in previous ones. Gipson's phrase, "The Great War for the Empire," sums up his position. He holds that England fought France to save the American colonies from French encroachments and not to gain a new empire, and that this interpretation of the war was the one in which the British nation, unlike Pitt, believed. The nation, as represented by men like Shelburne, Bedford, and George III, was suspicious of the continental alliance and England's involvement in the Seven Years' War, and saw no connection, as did Pitt, between the two wars. The conquests that England made were for the sake of trade and for a strong bargaining position in peace negotiations, Gipson says. Pitt was imperialistic; England was not. Canada was not won on the battlefields of Germany, as Pitt affirmed; it was won primarily by the British navy. The Peace of Paris, a lenient and just peace, represented prevailing English sentiment throughout the war, however much that sentiment may have been intoxicated and therefore occasionally diverted by Pitt's ambition and successes. Put in these simple terms, Gipson's thesis is obviously open to the criticism that personalities and accidents, when the issue is in doubt, play a decisive part. What would have happened had George II lived three years longer, and the Pitt-Newcastle combination carried on? We have no poll to test the opinion of the nation, only a rain of gold boxes upon Pitt in his heyday. Nonetheless, there is evidence, much more than Gipson had space to cite, in his favor. In general, this reviewer agrees with his interpretation.

The outlines of the volumes to come are not wholly clear. Gipson has indicated, by what he has written in the past, that he believes there is something to be said for the typical nineteenth-century British interpretation of the Revolution—when the British took the French off the backs of the Americans and tried to make them pay their share of the expense, they rebelled. He will not subscribe

to so blunt a thesis. But what he must do, and in more chapters than one, is to bring together the intangibles as well as the tangibles for the colonial position: British arrogance, for instance, in individual personal matters as in administrative; colonial fears about British troops, commanders-in-chief, and Anglican episcopates, as a succession of British ministries failed to deal with the problem of western settlement; mounting and unpayable debts to British merchants; and the revolutionary spirit which found in England supporters by which it was partly nourished. Thus far Gipson has left this essential part of the story, even that which was discernible in the 1750's, untold.

Newberry Library

STANLEY PARGELLIS

THE LIFE OF JOHN STUART MILL. By *Michael St. John Packe*. With a Preface by F. A. Hayek. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. xvi, 567. \$6.50.)

It seems curious, considering the host of less eminent Victorians who have been well served, that it has taken more than three quarters of a century to get an adequate biography of John Stuart Mill. This is not wholly the result of changing intellectual fashions nor of the fact that his genius appears less transcendent than it did to his immediate successors. Some of the blame must be laid at the door of Mill himself. For the *Autobiography*, incontestably one of the classics of the century, has seemed almost to warn off those who would re-examine its author's life and thought. But, as both Mr. Packe and Professor Hayek have noted, the *Autobiography*, ruthlessly honest as was its intent, in fact creates a distorted and untrustworthy picture of its subject. By focusing on his intellectual development to the exclusion of his other interests, Mill was responsible for a legend which does less than justice to himself.

Mr. Packe's aim is broader than that of the author of the *Autobiography*. His concern is with the man rather than with the ideas. As an expositor of the thought, indeed, he is less happy than as a chronicler of the life. There will be other studies of Mill the thinker, but Mr. Packe's volume, well-documented and generally readable, will hold its place for some time to come as the standard account.

For this biographer the central problem of John Stuart Mill has less to do with his father's influence than with his relationship with Harriet Taylor. It was an extraordinary affair, carried on platonically, though with scant regard for the stricter Victorian conventions. For over fifteen years before the death of the good-natured husband opened the way for their marriage, the two were regularly in each other's company, at the Taylor home (James tactfully dining out), in the country, or on the Continent.

Mill's estimate of Harriet's gifts may have been extravagant. Their contemporaries, few of whom knew her well, were inclined to question it. As Goldwin Smith waspishly remarked, "Mill's hallucination as to his wife's genius deprived

him of all authority wherever that came in." But there can no longer be substantial doubt of the range of her influence. Mr. Packe corroborates the conclusion reached by Professor Hayek in his introduction to the Mill-Taylor correspondence—that Mill was stating only sober fact when he credited Mrs. Taylor with a large share in the work published under his name. Nor was it a matter of feminine flattery or, as Carlyle imagined, of "those great dark eyes, that were flashing unutterable things while he was discoursin' the unutterable." Mr. Packe insists that, except for the *Logic*, "the principles underlying the more important works of John Stuart Mill were defined, although not actually composed by Harriet Taylor," and that every major work after the *Political Economy* was drafted or planned during their first few years of married life. This is not necessarily to accept Mill's view of his wife's mental endowments. She was obviously a woman of lively mind and exceptional charm, to whom Mill responded intellectually as well as emotionally. But we may still suspect that her ascendancy over him was, at bottom, one of those mysterious functions of personality rather than of intellect.

In dealing with Mill as a political and social thinker, Mr. Packe gives little comfort to those who have discovered in him a proto-socialist. Notwithstanding his abjuring of the wage fund and his interest in land reform, Mill remained solidly liberal to the end, a free trader and a believer in the sovereign virtues of economic competition. The notion of a socialized society lay quite outside his comprehension. In political fundamentals he was a slightly wayward Gladstonian, and the famous accolade bestowed upon him by the original Gladstonian, "Saint of Rationalism," was intended as a mark of affection and genuine respect, tinged, no doubt, with regret.

Harvard University

DAVID OWEN

EUROPEAN THOUGHT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: FROM MONTESQUIEU TO LESSING. By *Paul Hazard*, Member of the French Academy. Translated by *J. Lewis May*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1954. Pp. xx, 477. \$6.00.)

ALL too frequently the author of a brilliant work suffers from a sort of negative reflex on the part of reviewers when he produces its sequel. Thus the publication in 1935 of the late Paul Hazard's *Crise de la conscience européenne (1680-1715)* heightened, in advance, the critical pressure on anything he might subsequently write about the ensuing period. Such a study did appear in 1946 and, like the *Crise* (*AHR*, January, 1954, p. 410), has now been translated by J. Lewis May. Since the French original seems never to have been reviewed in this journal, it is appropriate here to comment briefly not only on the translation, but also on the study itself, as Hazard conceived and executed it.

Despite a few errors, such as the substitution of "seventeenth-" for "eighteenth-century" on page 199, the work of translation has been carefully done. Like its predecessor, this volume lacks most of the scholarly apparatus comprised in

Tome III of the French edition, offering instead only a few scattered footnotes. If the style seems chatty and at times even a bit cute, this is, I think, simply because Professor Hazard's swift, often excited mode of expression does not make for quite such good English as it does French.

To this, as to his other works, Hazard brought a matchless familiarity with the literary sources. He brought as well his great gift for finding the apt, the amusing, the persuasive quotation to characterize his man or to exemplify his point. His thesis is developed with erudite vigor. The eighteenth century, he tells us, put the God of the Christians on trial, proposing in place of traditional concepts a whole new world to be fashioned in accordance with nature's laws. But nature betrayed her devotees, confusing their logic, shaking their optimism, mocking their political dreams. With the embarrassment of the rationalists came the resurgence, at first timid, then increasingly confident, of spokesmen for the emotions.

There are several questions which can be asked without caviling. Why the subtitle (in both the French and the English), "From Montesquieu to Lessing," when the discussion ranges from well before even the *Persian Letters* and really terminates, chronologically at least, with Kant? And can one really personify a period so confidently, using the "arid, matter-of-fact spirits" the author admits to having selected? Certain men said this or replied that, but the "voice of the age" or "the opinion of Europe" is surely not so simple.

The book seems to me at once too verbose and too one-sided to rank as a great intellectual history. If it be added at this point that the whole thesis is less stimulating and less convincing than that of its author's previous study, this will be accepted, I hope, as introducing comparison where it belongs, i.e., after consideration of the work itself.

Harvard University

FRANKLIN L. FORD

L'ESPAGNE ÉCLAIRÉE DE LA SECONDE MOITIÉ DU XVIII^e SIÈCLE.

By *Jean Sarrailh*, Recteur de l'Université de Paris. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale; Librairie C. Klincksieck. 1954. Pp. vi, 779. 2,900 fr.)

DR. Sarrailh incorporates in this volume a wealth of materials, some of it not previously published or little known, on the Enlightenment in Spain. The first of the three parts into which the work is divided presents a survey of the contrast between the misery, ignorance, and superstition of the rural masses in Spain of the period and the attitudes and ideas of the "elite," both as individuals and as organized societies. The second part is devoted to the principles and the weapons of the crusade for enlightenment. Citing copiously from Spanish leaders, he stresses their appeal for better educational objectives based on the natural sciences. Another common demand called for a "new" culture based on reason rather than authority, one which represented efficiency and progress and would create and promote universal happiness.

The last part deals with the diffusion of the new sciences in Spain, of ideas for

a new economy, and of solutions for social problems. The "enlightened" Spaniard was primarily preoccupied with the Spanish people, especially the poor. He was more concerned with the treatment of the Indian than with slaves or minority groups such as the gypsies and the Jews. He supported the monarchy, believing that the new culture should emanate from the throne, and manifested relatively little interest in the American Revolution.

In a brief conclusion Dr. Sarrailh takes a middle of the road course, following Marañón. He agrees neither with Ortega y Gasset, who deplores the failure of the evolution during this "educating" century, nor with Eugenio D'Ors, who praises the great upheaval that Spain experienced during the period. The volume closes with an extensive bibliography of 530 items and an excellent index of proper names.

Dr. Sarrailh, an enthusiastic admirer of the Enlightenment, bases most of his ideas on hundreds of citations varying in length from a word or two to a page. All of these are translated into French. Since he also translates freely in a running commentary other ideas of the person cited, the reader is not always sure whether the opinions are those of the latter or of the author himself. Moreover, since the volume is directed apparently to the reader already familiar with the period, one may question the desirability of translating the quotations.

Among well-known "enlightened" Spaniards, Jovellanos, "the great voice of the century," is cited most frequently. In the author's opinion he is the great precursor of the generation of 1798 rather than Cadalso. Among foreigners frequently cited are Rousseau, B. Ward, D. G. Bowles, and Voltaire. Most of the opponents cited are not significant figures. Among modern critics the author attacks frequently the ideas of Menéndez y Pelayo ("cruel," "unjust," "irascible").

Scholars will be grateful for the rich mine of information that Dr. Sarrailh has assembled on a multitude of subjects, i.e., capital punishment, medicine, civil liberties, land use, interior worship, processions, honor, public welfare, many of which are rooted in the sixteenth century. Pedro Laín Entralgo, rector of the University of Madrid, searching for the causes of the Civil War in Spain, points out that the division of Spain into two parties, the liberals and the conservatives, harks back to the Renaissance. However it is in the eighteenth century that lines are sharply drawn. Dr. Sarrailh hews to the line and presents only one side of the controversy. Those who participate in the Enlightenment are white; the few cited who oppose are black. As the author states in the foreword, the book is a guide and an aid to historians who will formulate syntheses in the future.

University of Wisconsin

J. HOMER HERRIOTT

LA SOCIÉTÉ MILITAIRE DANS LA FRANCE CONTEMPORAINE,
1815-1939. By *Raoul Girardet*. [Civilisations d'hier et d'aujourd'hui.] (Paris:
Librairie Plon. 1953. Pp. 329.)

THIS is a unique and highly successful attempt to write not the history but the collective biography of the French army. Raoul Girardet concerns himself

only incidentally with such conventional military topics as conscription policies, army organization, or strategic doctrines. His intention is to analyze the role which the army has played as one of the principal social institutions of French life during the years from the fall of Napoleon to the outbreak of World War II. His book, therefore, develops two major themes: first of all, the daily life of French officers and men, their social origins, the conditions of their recruitment, and, particularly, the army's sense of its own role in French society; secondly, the varying opinions which different groups of Frenchmen have held about their army in the years since 1815. His book, in short, is a venture not so much into military as into social history.

In 1815 it was the conservatives who held the army suspect for its Jacobin-Napoleonic heritage, while the Left regarded it as friend and ally. But as the century wore on, the army—both by virtue of its own concept of its duty and of the tasks assigned it by the state—became the symbol of order. There was thus a striking reversal of popular attitudes, particularly after 1848. Conservatives began to revere the army as the guardian of social tranquillity; republicans viewed it as the enemy of all political reform. But this split in French opinion was interrupted by the disasters of 1870–71. For almost two decades thereafter the army was “the great common denominator” of French hopes, and “its resurrection was a symbol of national renaissance.” The old fissures reopened after 1890. The Right, disaffected by the evolution of the Third Republic, now exalted the army as the only remaining institution capable of preventing national disintegration—in conservative eyes it was “untouchable.” But the Left, increasingly distrustful of the military hierarchy and its aristocratic-clerical allies, became broadly antimilitaristic and set out to “republicanize” the army root and branch. By the time of the Dreyfus affair the army had become a symbol, not of the forces for unity but of all the internal discords which divided Frenchmen.

Not the least of the many merits of this book is the fact that, unlike so many French military historians, Girardet is balanced, subtle, and discerning. He continually destroys the half truths and legends of both Right and Left. He demonstrates convincingly, for instance, that the republican charge of the army's intervention in politics is distorted. On the other hand, the author indicates that the antimilitarism of the Left was not indiscriminate wrecking.

Despite its title, however, this book really ends with the outbreak of war in 1914. There is a sketchy, highly generalized epilogue of less than twenty pages on the two decades between the world wars, and the author maintains that military events in these years were only a continuation of previous trends. This is no doubt true enough, but Girardet's concluding chapter will be small consolation for the contemporary historian who might appreciate specific information on such topics as the attitude of the French public toward the army during the Popular Front era.

Princeton University

RICHARD D. CHALLENGER

LOUIS NAPOLEON AND THE SECOND EMPIRE. By J. M. Thompson, Honorary Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1954. Pp. xii, 342. 32s.6d.)

ONCE again J. M. Thompson has given us a colorful, arresting, and interpretative account of a period of French history—this time of the Second Empire. In this instance, as in previous works, the author makes the biography of a man (Louis Napoleon) the vehicle for a history of a period, thereby infusing the warmth of a very human personality throughout the history of a complex and fateful era. Thus we follow the life of a man who followed his star of fate from youthful refugee to insurrectionist, prisoner, president, emperor, economic reformer, arbiter of a continent, prisoner-of-war, and, alas, to refugee again until death.

Nothing of the romance, the contrasts, the shaded significances is lost by the author's telling. Those who have read his *French Revolution* and *Napoleon Bonaparte* cannot fail to discern and appreciate the same trenchant pen and deft brush which restore life and color to a much-told tale of the past. While Mr. Thompson does not attempt to conceal the faults and mistakes of the man, in the main he joins with some current revisionists in understanding (not justifying) the "crime of December 2nd" and crediting Napoleon III with constructive policies at home and abroad and exonerating him of the major responsibility for the outbreak of the war of 1870. The author rightly blames Bismarck and French public opinion of all classes for pushing Louis Napoleon into the war (p. 272) rather than just a small war party and the empress.

Yet, despite the prevailing merits of this book, one cannot help sensing that the author is less familiar with the period of the Second Empire than he is with the periods of the Revolution and the First Empire. He elects to use memoirs and private letters, a form of source material stronger in its colorfulness than in its accuracy and balance; and on the contrary he neglects to use well-known French, English, Prussian, and Italian printed documentary collections. In his treatment of the outbreak of the war of 1870 it is astonishing to see his omission of Lord's *Origins*, Ollivier's *Empire libéral*, Fester's *Thronkandidatur*, and Sorel's *Histoire diplomatique*. Readers who would wish to treat this work with the seriousness it deserves are themselves treated rather cavalierly by the denial of a bibliography and the inadequacy of the footnotes. For example, a footnote (p. 323) reads "Nabonne; De la Fuye"; yet one does not know which work by Nabonne or what pages in these works are referred to. No first names or initials are given in the designation of any authors. Besides, the index is woefully inadequate, a frequent American complaint about British publications.

Thompson's attempts at explanation also sometimes cause more confusion than clarification. At first (pp. 145, 146) he says flatly that the Crimean War broke out because of Napoleon III's desire for revenge and "the megalomania of an aging autocrat," Nicholas I; yet later (p. 147) he explains the "real issue"

and fundamental causes and finally contradicts himself (p. 148) by saying "Louis was indeed as hopeful as Nicholas of a peaceful solution." On another occasion (p. 159) the author tells us positively that Napoleon III's decision not to go to the Crimea in person was "the happy result" of two war councils in London. In the very next sentence he shifts his explanation with "Perhaps what really decided him was . . ." and alludes to several other factors. His critique of the bad condition of the French army (pp. 228-29) is sound in its facts but misleading in its implications of danger. Before 1862 the British, Austrian, Prussian, and Russian armies were nearly as inadequate as the French; and therefore, relatively, France was not handicapped. The seriousness of the military situation after 1862 was that Prussia did something about it, while the French public blocked its government's efforts at army reform.

To explain a few flaws requires more space than the praise which the work deserves. As a "life and times" of Louis Napoleon this volume will stand as one of the best and one of the most readable in many years.

University of Pennsylvania

LYNN M. CASE

GERMAN PROTESTANTS FACE THE SOCIAL QUESTION. Volume I, THE CONSERVATIVE PHASE, 1815-1871. By *William O. Shanahan*. [International Studies of the Committee on International Relations, University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 434. \$6.75.)

PROFESSOR Shanahan, in the volume under review, directs his attention to the attitudes of German Protestants toward the problems created by modern industrialism. The present volume covers the period 1815-1871; a companion volume is promised which will deal with the period from 1871 to 1933. In two essays on Friedrich Naumann, previously published, the author has already shown his keen interest in this problem. It is a field which badly needed investigation and synthesis. Troeltsch's great work on *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* is more sociological than historical and concentrates primarily upon the period before the nineteenth century. The fourth volume of Schnabel's *Deutsche Geschichte* contains a masterful account of German Protestantism (and Professor Shanahan acknowledges his indebtedness to Schnabel) but it only goes up to 1848. Most of the other literature is either monographic or strictly theological.

One of the chief difficulties involved in dealing with German Protestantism (as distinguished from the treatment of the Social Catholic movement) is to define precisely the religious limits of the term Protestantism. Too often what is called Protestantism is really the secular manifestations of the national state. This difficulty Professor Shanahan well appreciates, but he does not help clarify the situation by dealing *in extenso* with movements and currents quite obviously

outside the limits of Protestantism proper. The main threads of the narrative and of the issues are often lost sight of amidst the too extended "background" or "related" problems.

German social Protestantism of the first half of the nineteenth century was dominated by the figure of J. H. Wichern. Shanahan's treatment of Wichern is the best available in the English language. But he also deals in detail with other lesser known figures. He rightly stresses the alliance between the Protestant leaders of this period and the Conservative tradition. The prevailing view in these circles was that poverty and social ills were the product of sin and that the proper ways for dealing with these issues was to be "charitable and evangelical rather than legislative or technical." One does not find in Germany at this time, as Shanahan ably demonstrates, the equivalent of the British Charles Kingsley or F. D. Maurice. This too was one of the chief reasons why the masses of the Protestant German proletariat flocked to the banner of the "materialist" and "free-thinking" Social Democratic party.

The author's detailed bibliographical footnotes combined with a twelve-page "Select Bibliography" not only give concrete evidence of his intimate familiarity with the literature but also provide a useful guide for the further study of these problems. Of course the most important phase of Protestant Social Christianity in Germany comes after 1871, with the movements of Stoecker, Naumann, the Christian economists and the new attitudes toward religion in the Social Democratic party. We shall look forward with interest to the second volume of Professor Shanahan's study, which will deal with these currents.

Queens College

KOPPEL S. PINSON

METTERNICH: DER STAATSMANN UND DER MENSCH. Volume III, QUELLENVERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN UND LITERATUR EINE AUSWAHLÜBERSICHT VON 1925-1952. By *Heinrich Ritter von Srbik*. (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann. 1954. Pp. 235. DM 23.50.)

THE third volume of Srbik's work on Prince Metternich, published after the author's death, fulfills a double purpose: it reviews critically the literature on the Austrian chancellor that has appeared since Srbik's two-volume monumental biography of 1925 and, in doing so, retraces the history of Metternich and his age. In the opinion of this reviewer it is especially the latter accomplishment that brings the genius of the author to its full unfolding. I know of no other work which presents the problems of the epoch and the man with such maturity, serenity, and competence. Ranke's demand that a biography should finally become universal history has been fulfilled here in little more than two hundred pages.

The reader may assume that Srbik's plan was first to concentrate on the critical review because he wanted to answer his critics. His defense is perhaps unnecessarily detailed, however, particularly as the reputations of such opponents as Wertheimer and Bibl have hardly survived the twenty-five years since their attacks.

But Srbik's wide reading results in a critical survey of much monographic literature that otherwise would be difficult to trace.

On the whole Srbik finds the main lines drawn in his biography of 1925 unshaken, even corroborated, and the reviewer thinks that he is fully justified in this assumption. New emphases are added here and there, however, and the author admits (e.g., pp. 123, 135) that some changes in his original text have become necessary through recent research; for example, he underlines here more than in the first narrative the limitations of the mind and the character of Metternich (cf. in this respect the discussion of the originality of the chancellor's "system" [p. 97]).

Srbik refers quite frequently to contributions made to his topic by historians living on this side of the Atlantic, such as K. R. Greenfield, Arthur May, V. J. Puryear, Peter Viereck, and the reviewer. It is to be regretted, however, that publications of such importance as *Francis the Good* by W. C. Langsam and the Gentz biography by P. R. Sweet have escaped the author's attention; nor is R. J. Rath's *Fall of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy, 1814* mentioned. Reference to R. A. Kann's *Multinational Empire* could also have been expected, as the editor claims to have continued the critical bibliography to 1952. In view of the extraordinary breadth of Srbik's reading already referred to, a problem of a general nature might be suggested: the desirability of compiling a truly comprehensive international bibliography in modern European history.

Metternich research, of course, did not stop with 1952. As G. de Bertier de Sauvigny remarks in his interesting discussion of the correspondence of Metternich and Decazes (*Etudes d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, Paris, 1953, pp. 60-115), the archives in Vienna still contain many unknown and relevant documents on the age of the chancellor. As for the family archives of Plass, explored only to a small extent and important also for the period of the activity of Richard Metternich as ambassador to Paris, this reviewer's latest information is that they have been transferred to Prague.

Catholic University of America

FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

STUDIES AND DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK CHURCH AND PEOPLE UNDER TURKISH DOMINATION.

By *Theodore H. Papadopoulos*. [Bibliotheca Graeca Aevi Posterioris, Nummer I.] (Brussels: Librairie Scaldis. 1952. Pp. xxiv, 507.)

THERE are three great periods in the historiography of the Balkan peninsula. The first covers the Byzantine or Middle Ages, the second the era of Ottoman domination, and the third the emergence of the national states. Of these, the first and third have been investigated extensively and with gratifying results. When compared with these two epochs, the Turkish period, the so-called "Dark Ages" of Balkan history, has been almost totally disregarded. Various reasons are responsible for this condition—lack of interest, scarcity of material, etc. Yet this period,

covering almost four centuries, had a decisive effect on the future development of the modern Balkan states. Mr. Papadopoulos' book is, therefore, a welcome contribution in a neglected field, particularly since it deals with the most important Christian institution of the time, the Ecumenical patriarchate.

Mr. Papadopoulos has divided his book into three parts. The first is entitled "Prolegomena to the History of the Greek Church under Turkish Domination (1453-1800)," the second, "Critical Introduction to the Patriarchate of Cyril V and the Controversy about Rebaptization (1748-1757)," and the third, "ΠΑΛΑΝΟΣΠΑΡΑΚΤΗΣ, a Document in Political Verse." Although the last two sections are the principal part of the work, they are of interest primarily to the specialist in post-Byzantine history. It is the first chapter which should be called to the attention of the student of Balkan and Near Eastern history. Here can be found one of the best accounts in English of the background, organization, and significance of the Greek church in the period of Turkish rule. Mr. Papadopoulos correctly concludes that the history of the Balkan Christians at this time "cannot be separated from the history of the eastern church." He also points out that Turkish rule was not as oppressive as it has usually been pictured. For instance, the Greek literary output, which was chiefly ecclesiastical, was impressive in quantity, and in quality was "not very inferior to the Byzantine products of the same category." With regard to the question of Greek nationalism, Mr. Papadopoulos states that although the church through its "Orthodox conscience" contributed to the preservation of Hellenism, this same conscience conflicted with "the national conscience of the modern Greek nation." Hence the church did not foster nor did it guide the national revolution of 1821.

University of California, Berkeley

CHARLES JELAVICH

THE FORMATION OF THE SOVIET UNION: COMMUNISM AND NATIONALISM, 1917-1923. By *Richard Pipes*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 13.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 355. \$6.50.)

Mr. Pipes has written the first comprehensive study on the role of the national movements in the history of the Russian Revolution from 1917 to 1923. He has concentrated on the chief territorial nationalities, the Ukrainians and Belorussians in the west, the Moslem borderlands in the east and southeast, and the Caucasus, omitting the nationalities who succeeded at least temporarily in throwing off Russian domination, the Poles, the Finns, and the Baltic peoples. Though the Russian Empire before 1917 contained only little more than 40 per cent of Great Russians, it was treated constitutionally and administratively as a nationally homogeneous unit. Lenin recognized the reality of the anti-Russian national movements of liberation throughout the empire and wished to utilize them for the revolution; on the other hand, as a Marxist, he regarded nationalism as a passing phenomenon of the capitalist era. Like the Russian nationalists, he wished ultimately for the

Russification of the non-Russian nationalities, but he hoped that this goal might be brought about voluntarily. "Underestimating the power of nationalism and convinced of the inevitable triumph of class loyalties over national loyalties, Lenin looked upon national problems as something to exploit, and not as something to solve. But as a psychological weapon in the struggle for power, first in Russia and then abroad, the slogan of self-determination in Lenin's interpretation was to prove enormously successful."

Mr. Pipes's narrative of Bolshevik Russia's reconquest of the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and the Moslem lands is well documented, objective, and of pertinent interest even today and in the near future, when the freedom of the non-Russian nationalities from Moscow's control will present one of the most serious problems. The Soviet offensive against the national republics was carried out in 1920 by the same methods of internal and external pressure used twenty years later against the Baltic republics and the peoples of central-eastern Europe. Pressed by the Polish armies, Soviet Russia signed on May 7, 1920, a treaty with the Georgian Republic pledging the most unqualified recognition of Georgian independence. This meant, however, only a postponement of the conquest of Georgia. In November, 1920, Stalin wrote that Georgia "had transformed itself into the principal base of imperialist operation of England"; the truth was that against the wishes of the Georgians the British had withdrawn their troops in 1919 and declined to accept a League of Nations mandate over Georgia.

With the conquest of Georgia the first stage in the reconquest of Russia's imperial territories and territorial goals was accomplished. The Soviet Union which emerged as a result was a centralized and unitary state, but, as Mr. Pipes rightly points out, "by granting the minorities extensive linguistic autonomy and by placing the national-territorial principle at the base of the state's political administration, the Communists gave constitutional recognition to the multinational structure of the Soviet population." Though this feature of the Soviet constitution was purely formal, nevertheless language and territorial administration have always strongly enhanced a nascent national consciousness, and thus this feature of the constitution "may well prove to have been historically one of the most consequential aspects of the formation of the Soviet Union."

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

THE INTERREGNUM, 1923-1924. By *Edward Hallet Carr*. [A History of Soviet Russia, Volume IV.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. vii, 392. \$5.00.)

The Interregnum is a continuation of Professor Carr's imposing study of Soviet Russia, for the period when Lenin lay dying and was succeeded by the "troika" of Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Stalin, in opposition to Trotsky. It will be followed by a two-volume set, *Socialism in One Country, 1924-1926*. In the present installment, the most intensive yet, Professor Carr treats, with characteristic

thoroughness and a formidable command of the sources, the areas of economics, diplomacy and Comintern activity, and internal politics. The one serious gap concerns the development of the party secretariat and its control over the organization, which Professor Carr does not discuss in any detail; the rich documentation in *Izvestiia TsK* (News of the Central Committee) is not used. In particular there is no treatment of Stalin's signal success in 1923-24 at packing the Central Committee.

The questions of method which Professor Carr's three-volume *Bolshevik Revolution* evokes are two: the limitations of a topical approach, and the problem of maintaining objectivity without the use of a personal conceptual scheme as a check when the subject matter is replete with implicit bias. (See the discussion of this problem in the Social Science Research Council Bulletin No. 64, *The Social Sciences in Historical Study*, esp. p. 142.) In both respects *The Interregnum* offers much less to take issue with. Between Volume I and the present installment Professor Carr's point of view appears to have changed considerably. This is illustrated especially in the tone with which opposition factions are treated. Professor Carr's pages reflect the *Weltanschauung* of the Bolshevik leadership as long as the focus is the contest between the Soviet regime and its antagonists. With Lenin's passing, Carr becomes more detached, and when the scene shifts to the area of factional controversy within the party, he treats the protagonists with the utmost impartiality. *The Interregnum* is the best of the series to date, and augurs well for what is to come.

According to the philosophy implicit in Professor Carr's work, history embodies a dichotomy between heroic leadership and the tug of circumstances. The man—Lenin—who by sheer force of will is able to take the course of events into his own hands evokes irrepressible admiration. He who, following, fails, or worse, succeeds by adapting himself to circumstances, is contemptible: thus both Trotsky and Stalin. "The failure of the opposition," Carr observes, "was one more tragic illustration of the practical dilemma of the attempt to build socialism in a country which still lacked both the economic and the political presuppositions of democracy."

Indiana University

ROBERT V. DANIELS

BALTISCHE GESCHICHTE: DIE OSTSEELAND, LIVLAND, ESTLAND, KURLAND, 1180-1918. By Reinhard Wittram. (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1954. Pp. 323. DM 26.)

THIS volume written by the author of *Geschichte der Baltischen Deutschen, Drei Generationen (Deutschland-Livland-Russland)* and other works is one in the series "Geschichte der Völker und Staaten" undertaken by R. Oldenbourg Verlag. As might be guessed from the subtitle, the *Baltische Geschichte* is not a national history of the Letts and Estonians. Rather, it is a history of the most eastern area of German penetration, conquest, and colonization, also an area where in spite

of historical vicissitudes the Germans left an indelible imprint. The Danes, Poles, Swedes, and Russians had much to do with the Baltic provinces but could not erase an essentially German civilization introduced by missionaries, merchants, and knights of the Middle Ages and strengthened and deepened by successive waves of German colonists. Throughout the book it is evident that Professor Wittram is chiefly interested in the historical role of the German element in what began as, and for a long time remained, a German colony.

The book is divided into three main parts. Following a short introduction, the first part covers the history of "old Livonia" during the period 1180-1561; the second part gives an account of the role of Livonia and Estonia in the struggle among the northern powers for the control of the Baltic Sea during the period 1561-1710 and the history of Kurland from 1561 to 1795; the third part, comprising more than half the text, relates the history of the Russian Baltic provinces from 1710 to 1918. Among the topics included in this most important section of the book are: the administrative organization of the Baltic provinces under Russian rule, the new influx of German colonists, the peasant question, agrarian legislation, the history and role of the University of Dorpat, the national awakening among the Letts and Estonians, Russification policies of the Russian government, social changes, rise of the revolutionary movement, and the outbreak of the First World War. This section is of particular interest to students of Russian history because through acquisition of the Baltic provinces Russia gained an "enclave" of Western civilization within its empire. From this "Germanized" corner of Russia came many statesmen, generals, governors, and scholars who played a significant role in the political and cultural history of Russia.

Following the text there are thirty-eight pages in small print containing bibliographies, general works of reference, and detailed page references in half a dozen languages. Taken as a whole the bibliographical material of Professor Wittram is so extensive that it would be a valuable contribution to the history of the Baltic provinces even in the absence of the informative and well-written text.

University of California, Berkeley

GEORGE V. LANTZEFF

Far Eastern History

SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION IN CHINA. Volume I, INTRODUCTORY ORIENTATIONS. By *Joseph Needham*, Sir William Dunn Reader in Biochemistry in the University of Cambridge, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Foreign Member of Academia Sinica. With the Research Assistance of *Wang Ling*, Academia Sinica and Trinity College, Cambridge. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1954. Pp. xxxviii, 318. \$10.00.)

THE late Professor Paul Pelliot, eminent authority on Chinese history and language, once observed that the history of science would gain immeasurably if a Western scientist of wide outlook were to collaborate with Chinese scientists who,

in addition to some knowledge of science, had a good command of their own great literature. Many hints, he thought, might be brought to light which could profitably be subjects of further research. Though the volume now published is only the first of six others to come, the information it yields is so rich that one may well regard Professor Pelliot's prophecy fulfilled. It remained for an eminent biochemist, versed in many other branches of science, and one who has traveled widely in China, to place the scientific contributions of that civilization in truer perspective. Numerous recorded observations and practices whose significance escaped the notice of routine students of Chinese language and history are here set forth in a new and fascinating light. "It is my conviction," writes Dr. Needham, "that the Chinese proved themselves able to speculate about Nature as well as the Greeks in their earlier period." They maintained, moreover, "between the 3rd and 13th centuries a level of scientific knowledge unapproached in the West."

Dr. Needham is not unaware of the factors which, after the sixteenth century, inhibited the growth of science in China—though it must be granted that, beginning about 1600, scientific techniques were successfully employed in such fields as textual, philological, and historical criticism. Though he enumerates important factors, he seems to give, in this volume at least, too little weight to one philosophical concept that pervaded the entire East: the conviction that happiness and truth are to be sought for within the mind. This being so, knowing and controlling oneself became in the Orient a more urgent matter than knowing and controlling the outer world. Furthermore, when commenting on "the extraordinary integrative and absorptive power of Chinese civilization" it is hardly enough to say that it is "connected with the highly characteristic nature of Chinese agriculture and administration." Surely much of China's absorptive power was due also to her humane and highly reasonable attitude to life. Again, one could wish that less use had been made of the disparaging words "bureaucrat" and "bureaucratism"—words so tarnished of late that they impute to an ancient and on the whole well-conducted civil service an opprobrious connotation it hardly deserves.

It is remarkable with what accuracy and power of selectivity the general history of China, the geographical background, and the characteristics of the language are depicted. The scene is thus laid for understanding the part that men of scientific temper played in that land. More remarkable still are the numerous parallelisms showing the actual or implied cultural contacts between China and the West. A prodigious amount of reading in several languages was necessary to achieve such results. Subsequent volumes, now in manuscript, will treat in order the following topics: the history of scientific thought; mathematics and the sciences of heaven and earth; physics, engineering, and technology; chemistry and industrial chemistry; biology, agriculture, and medicine; the social background. The introductory volume has thirty-six illustrations and maps, and nine very useful tables of Chinese sounds, place-names, dynasties, etc. The final volume will contain unified indexes and bibliographies of all the preceding volumes. The work as

a whole is brilliantly conceived, promising to be one of the bold efforts at synthesis that our new world—geographically united but mentally divided—so urgently needs. It is addressed, moreover, “not to sinologists, nor to the widest circle of the general public, but to all educated people, whether themselves scientists or not . . . who are interested in the general history of civilization, and especially the comparative development of Europe and Asia.”

Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA UNDER THE COMPANY AND THE CROWN. By P. E. Roberts, Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford. Third edition completed by T. G. P. Spear, Fellow of Selwyn College, Cambridge. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952. Pp. v, 707.)

THIS durable work first appeared (as *Historical Geography of India*, in two parts) in 1916 and 1920, when British power in India, if no longer at its zenith, was still unquestionably pre-eminent. Under the present title two editions and several reprintings were published from 1921 onward to the final year of British rule over India. It is testimony to Roberts' scholarship that after 1947, when the British Indian episode could be viewed as a whole, final chapters should be added and the volume reissued with the first 579 pages of the original work unchanged.

In completing the third edition after Roberts' death in 1949, Dr. Spear had the double task of carrying the account forward from 1935, where it was left in the second edition, and of rounding out the interpretation of British Indian history with rather greater emphasis on developments within Indian society than had appeared necessary to Roberts. In an unusually effective summation of the crowded latter years before 1947 Spear has skillfully woven in the strands that make the denouement intelligible, from Ram Mohan Roy to the rise of Muslim separatism.

Nevertheless, this remains a British account of British dominion over India. As such it is valuable. Indian historians may now rewrite the history of their country for the past 250 years with different emphases, and certainly with some different adjectives. Here the march of history is seen in terms of the struggles among the early European contenders in the East, the ascendancy of the British, and the records of the successive governors general, with emphasis on “each man's characteristic contribution to the building up of British dominion in India” (p. 225). It is a carefully told tale. From Clive and Hastings to Curzon, major figures are treated to a more judicious examination than has sometimes been the fashion. Despite the condensation that is inevitable in a one-volume history of British India, Roberts retains a keen eye for the complexity of interests involved in a situation and writes always with clarity.

The volume has sufficient value so that it is a pity new plates were not made of most of the book for the third edition. For a reader in 1954 it is a distracting and possibly misleading anachronism to read in the present tense of British authority over India and to find that a reference to “the past forty years” refers to the

period from 1880 to 1920. Some more substantive observations are also outdated, such as a reference to Bengal as the province that is "the wealthiest and most flourishing in India" (p. 229). These are irritations, but they need not put off the wary reader.

American Universities Field Staff

PHILLIPS TALBOT

JAPAN'S DECISION TO SURRENDER. By *Robert J. C. Butow*. Foreword by Edwin O. Reischauer. [Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace. Publication No. 24.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 259. \$4.00.)

AN unforeseen by-product of the decision to bring to justice the Axis leaders of World War II was the vast collection of records and testimony assembled as a result of the war crimes trials. The International Military Tribunal for the Far East alone took enough evidence to fill fifty packing crates. Together with personal memoirs and interviews, these records provide the student of contemporary events a rare and hitherto unexploited opportunity to follow the tortuous path of Japanese policy and to probe deeply the motives of those who guided the destiny of Japan in time of crisis.

Dr. Butow has made the most of this opportunity. Choosing for his theme Japan's decision to surrender, Butow traces the steps by which a small but extremely influential group of men close to the emperor sought to end a war that was already lost. The story is a drama of intrigue, of contending forces, played against the curtain of the most destructive war in history. On one side were the military fanatics and their adherents, preferring annihilation to surrender; on the other the handful of elder statesmen and former premiers, loyally avowing support for the war effort but secretly conspiring to rescue Japan from atomic disaster and certain chaos.

Above both stood the emperor, the supreme symbol of Japanese life and thought. Limited by tradition to approval of his ministers' decisions, he kept silent when they could not agree. But at this critical moment in history, with a cabinet split by deep irreconcilable differences, the emperor chose to abandon his traditional neutrality. By speaking out clearly for peace he resolved the conflict and sealed the doom of the military extremists. Had he not taken this unprecedented and extraordinary step the course of Japanese history and the postwar world might well have taken a different turn.

The emperor's decision crowded closely the atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Soviet invasion of Manchuria. These great events, says Dr. Butow, have obscured the real reasons for that decision. Japan had been defeated many months before and probably would have capitulated earlier had the Allies defined the "unconditional surrender" formula and agreed to preserve the imperial system. By refusing to do so, Butow believes the Allies strengthened the extremists and lengthened the war.

If that is so, it is fair to ask how much the leaders in Washington actually knew about conditions inside Japan and about the struggle between the peace party and the military clique. If they had such information, when did they acquire it and how much of it could they believe? Was it reliable enough to justify the hope that an invasion of Japan would prove unnecessary, or that Russia's help would not be needed in the final stages of the war? How much weight could they give it in their decision to pay the price of Soviet aid against Japan? Or to use the atom bomb? These are questions that a reading of the Japanese record raises but cannot answer. It is unlikely they will be answered soon.

In telling the story of one of the fateful decisions of our time, Dr. Butow has made a valuable contribution to the history of World War II. He has illuminated the intricate devices by which Japan is governed and described in detail the problems facing a nation making its painful way from war to peace.

Washington, D. C.

LOUIS MORTON

American History

THE COMING OF THE REVOLUTION, 1763-1775. By *Lawrence Henry Gipson*. [New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1954. Pp. xiv, 287. \$5.00.)

DURING the past fifty years the Whig interpretation of the American Revolution has been undermined by the work of Sir Lewis Namier and his disciples in England and outflanked by that of the "imperial" school of historians in America. Professor Gipson is the leading spokesman of the latter group, and he now gives us a brief account of the events leading to American independence as they appear to him after a lifetime devoted to study of the empire. The emphasis is not on narration of events—the crowded years from 1767 onward are covered in seventy-two pages—but on the imperial setting within which the events took place.

The result of this emphasis, though the author scrupulously refrains from taking sides, is to make the actions of the British appear more reasonable and those of the Americans less so than has been the case in conventional accounts of these years. Perhaps the most effective chapters are those which show that the Americans had a much lower tax burden and a much lower public indebtedness per capita than Englishmen. Though one would like to know something of the comparative incomes of the two groups, the conclusion seems inescapable that the Americans could have borne without undue hardship the taxes imposed by parliament. In spite of the spirit of tolerance in which Professor Gipson presents his facts, the facts themselves suggest a certain churlishness on the part of a people who refused in the mother country's hour of need to pay the comparatively small sums demanded of them.

Without denying the facts or the force of the inference to be drawn from them, it may be fair to point out that another set of facts might help to redeem the

Americans from the unenviable position in which Professor Gipson places them. He, I am sure, would be the first to acknowledge that the ability of one party to pay does not necessarily confer on another the right to demand payment. The colonists, of course, denied the right of parliament's demand; but Professor Gipson, viewing this denial from the imperial perspective, finds it less consistent, and thus by implication less sincere, than it might have seemed at closer range. In interpreting the American position at the time of the Stamp Act he relies heavily on Franklin's statements in London and on a pamphlet printed in Connecticut, treating these as characteristic or representative, though they were actually exceptional. He thus accepts as true, what some of the masters of empire may well have thought was true—that the colonies at the time of the Stamp Act claimed an exemption from internal taxes only—though the notion was belied by other pamphlets and by dozens of petitions and resolutions reaching parliament from colonial assemblies.

Likewise the emphasis on the imperial perspective eclipses another set of facts that would make colonial resistance appear less reprehensible. Though there is a citation to Professor Dickerson's work in a footnote, there is no description of the outrageous behavior of the customs officers, especially of the American Board of Commissioners, which provoked so many of the incidents leading to the Revolutionary impasse.

Perhaps there will be more room for the author's view of these matters in the coming volume of his larger work. No book as strictly limited in length as the present one could deal even in passing with all the episodes that helped to bring on the Revolution. What Professor Gipson has done, and done with grace and style, is to give us the side of the picture that many Americans still need to be reminded of.

Brown University

EDMUND S. MORGAN

GEORGE WASHINGTON: A BIOGRAPHY. Volume VI, PATRIOT AND PRESIDENT. By *Douglas Southall Freeman*. With a Foreword by Dumas Malone. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1954. Pp. xlv, 529. \$7.50.)

COMPLETING the present volume on the very day of his death, the author carried Washington to the end of his first term as President. But the work as it emerged from the press owed much of its perfection to the very loyal staff, whose devotion to their task represents an impressive monument to their departed chief. For Dr. Freeman, even as Lee and Washington whom he so laboriously and lovingly portrayed, possessed that precious quality of leadership which evokes unstinting service and devoted loyalty. An innate greatness first drove him to the companionship of the illustrious dead. And they in turn provided inspiration to their sculptor. Thus in a form somewhat modified, the dictum of Polybius that the historian must have participated personally in great events is vindicated, for if Dr. Freeman's actual life was the quiet one of author, editor, and commentator,

remote from cabinets and battlefields, the subjects who chiefly engaged his hours of thought and his creative pen were the loftiest of men. The living and the dead were mutually dependent.

The story, for it is a story and not a series of essays, proceeds with a day-to-day minuteness that is almost glacial in its majesty. Washington develops so gradually that one almost regrets the virtues of a possibly less scientific but more interpretative method. The reader's judgments are his own. Freeman has provided their basis but rarely the verdicts. According to Mary Wells Ashworth, "Historical Associate to Douglas Southall Freeman," it was the biographer's intention to summarize his personal conclusions in the unwritten Volume VII (p. xlv). For the unity of his work, it is perhaps as well that this chapter is left to the imagination. That it would have been laudatory is implicit throughout. Unlike Rupert Hughes, who came to scoff but remained to pray, Freeman required no conversion. Intensely Virginian, he needed no introduction to Washington but rather to his century, for colonial Virginia was far more remote in its folkways than the post-Civil War Virginia of Freeman's youth, with its numerous survivors of a heroic epoch.

Accuracy, minuteness, and comprehensiveness being the salient characteristics of Freeman's work, one does not anticipate much novelty. Washington was great in life; he is great in this biography. In so far as it differs from some recent interpretations, it is gentler in depicting his relations with Mary Ball, his mother, with Alexander Hamilton, and with Arthur St. Clair; and on the whole more censorious in attributing much of the general's hesitation over attending the Constitutional Convention to vanity and the fear of undermining his well-earned position. There is complete understanding of Washington's problems of etiquette and protocol, in happy contrast with the woodenness of Woodrow Wilson's *Washington*. Martha Washington, it may be added, is portrayed as a happy wife and a true helpmeet.

Thus Volume VI of Freeman's magnum opus closes in the mellow glow of a great man interpreted in a great biography.

Purdue University

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS

AMERICAN PAINTING: THE LIGHT OF DISTANT SKIES, 1760-1835.

By James Thomas Flexner. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1954. Pp. 306, 102 plates. \$10.00.)

With *The Light of Distant Skies*, James Thomas Flexner continues his chronicle of American painting in the same sprightly fashion that characterized his *First Flowers of the Wilderness*. The present volume covers the years 1760 to 1835, opening with Benjamin West's arrival in England and concluding with John Trumbull's enthusiastic discovery in a New York shop window of some landscapes by the then unknown painter Thomas Cole. This last episode will doubtless serve as the springboard for Flexner's next volume in his series. Let

us hope so, for his series, reminiscent of Van Wyck Brooks's parallel study of our literary heritage, promises to provide the best single introduction to American painting for the nonspecialist. Even the specialist will admire the adroitness with which Flexner weaves the career of one artist into another, while relating their paintings to the social context of their creation.

On the other hand, the pace of the narrative seems to make aesthetic analysis something of an incubus. Flexner tends to characterize an artist's work by reference to one or two paintings, slighting the treatment of stylistic development even when this is essential as in the English work of West or (even more meagerly discussed) of Copley. There is but the sketchiest discussion of European developments. A typical specimen: "Although the English artists never lost sight of individuality, they emphasized the most admired aspects of a sitter's character and features. Like Copley, Reynolds looked at reality, but he wore much rosier glasses" (p. 57). Such commentary only tantalizes; it certainly does not analyze differences requiring photographic evidence, all of which is American. The bibliography, even as a basic list (which Flexner does not assert that it is), lacks foreign sources completely, save for a few of the most obvious general studies by English scholars. In respect to history painting alone, for example, where is Jean Locquin's basic *La peinture d'histoire en France 1747 à 1785*, which relates West's work to European developments? Where are Edgar Wind's important article on "The Revolution of History Painting" and Charles Mitchell's discussion of West's "Death of General Wolfe"? (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, II, 116 ff.; VII, 20 ff.)

Since the central theme of the present volume is the uncertainty which ensued when artists like West, Copley, Trumbull, Allston, Morse, and Vanderlyn attempted to absorb the "grand style" of European history painting, the social historian will find here new insights into the age-old problem of the validity of European experience for American culture. In general, Flexner maintains that the painters of the early national period failed because they did not concentrate on American themes; but Flexner wavers in his assertion. On the one hand, he states that the European influence on West and Copley did result in significant (if not perhaps in "great") works of art. On the other, he finds that Trumbull, Allston, Morse, and Vanderlyn failed because they became infected with the "grand style" and with the psychology of creation implicit in history painting. At some places he very interestingly argues that these last four artists unfairly blamed their unproductivity on the cloddish lack of sympathy of a native audience which, according to Flexner, stormed exhibitions, asking only for subject matter of deep popular interest to furnish the kind of patronage requisite for vital creativity. Elsewhere he confesses that Americans were not particularly discriminating; that they were as excited by the prospect of Allston's unfortunate "Belshazzar's Feast" as the artist himself; that although they did patronize portraitists as lavishly as their colonial forebears had done, the results (except for certain Stuarts) were mediocre. Finally, Flexner repeatedly bemoans the lack of a "great tradition,"

but neglects to tell us whether such a tradition could be wrought solely of frontier materials, or whether it might not also require certain European ingredients too. In short, Flexner contributes new information on the problem of an "American" culture, but leaves the problem unresolved largely because the social circumstances of the work of art fascinate him so much more than the formal.

Yale University

WILLIAM H. JORDY

THE PROTESTANT CLERGY AND PUBLIC ISSUES, 1812-1848. By *John R. Bodo*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 291. \$5.00.)

THE SOCIAL IDEAS OF THE NORTHERN EVANGELISTS, 1826-1860. By *Charles C. Cole, Jr.* [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 580.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. 268. \$4.25.)

THESE two books on the part played by religion and the authorized spokesmen of religious groups in the period between the War of 1812 and the Civil War are valuable contributions to American social and cultural history. As their titles indicate, they offer a contrast in subject matter and in the center of interest of the two authors. It is equally obvious that the two accounts must inevitably overlap, for the terms "orthodox" and "evangelical" are not fixed, and the members of the clergy both authors deal with did not remain, true to form, all of the time in one or the other category. The terms "social ideas" and "public issues" offer another opportunity—almost necessity—for overlapping, for the problems presented by Negro slavery, the temperance movement, reform in the field of education, and, in fact, almost every phase of the life of the American citizen were of interest to both the "theocracy" of Mr. Bodo and the "Northern evangelists" of Mr. Cole.

By a careful reading of the introductory chapters of the two books it is possible, through the authors' definitions of the terms used in their titles and the limitations they set for their works, to understand both the contrast between "theocrat" and "evangelist" and the fact that they at times agree and at times disagree in the selection as well as in the treatment of problems of public and/or social concern.

A Presbyterian clergyman, himself, Mr. Bodo has carefully limited his Protestant clergy to the "educated ministry of New England and the middle states, whose theology was largely Calvinistic." Those were the areas in which the Calvinistic tradition was strong, but there was a very orthodox Presbyterian church in the South, and New England settlers carried Calvinism to the West. It may seem to a non-New Englander, or a non-Presbyterian, or a non-Calvinist in tradition—or to all these in one—that this is an arbitrary and narrow limitation of the term American Protestant clergy and that the title of the book is not well chosen. It may seem strange, also, to write of "theocrats" and "theocracy" as dominant in such a group in a country in which separation of church and state was a cardinal dogma. It is clear, however, that the author intended to limit his discussion to

the orthodox, conservative clergymen of the better-educated and conservative congregations.

Professor Cole, on the other hand, makes it quite plain why he treats only the Northern evangelists, but it is difficult at times to determine the reasons for the inclusion of some men and the exclusion of others. Perhaps it is hard to define an evangelist. There were, moreover, many clergymen who were Puritan and Calvinist in tradition and thus obviously belong on Mr. Bodo's list but whose attitudes on revivals and social reforms contradict their conservative opinions and make them proper subjects for inclusion among Mr. Cole's evangelists. Contemporaries, for example, could not agree, and apparently modern historians cannot, as to the place of Lyman Beecher. Was Beecher a great evangelical "human force" as one writer has stated, or was he a champion of orthodoxy as the Lane Seminary rebels must have thought? Justin Edwards, also, is claimed by both authors; Albert Barnes is called a "theocrat" by Mr. Bodo and rates a brief biography among the Northern evangelists; but Charles Grandison Finney and Peter Cartwright belong definitely to Professor Cole while Leonard Bacon and Theodore Dwight are in the other camp.

This seeming confusion is, on the surface, repeated in the discussion of the many movements and voluntary associations of the first half of the nineteenth century in which both Calvinistic and revivalistic clergy were interested. Ministers and laymen of all denominations worked for all the reform movements and were interested in the missionary, Sunday school, tract, Bible, and other societies. The confusion, if such it is, is lessened when one considers the fundamental difference between the attitudes of the two groups toward the nature of man and society. The evangelical clergy were touched by perfectionism and millennialism and had the optimism so characteristic of the frontier and of the American spirit of that period. The "theocrats" retained the Calvinist view of the depravity of man while they endeavored to bring the nation into conformity with their interpretation of God's will and design. Their belief in the perfectibility of man and society made the evangelists, in revivals and reform movement at least, radicals, while the theocrats were natural conservatives made more cautious by the extravagance of the revivalists. They were still struggling with the problems of faith and theology that had plagued Jonathan Edwards and the Calvinists of the mid-eighteenth-century Great Awakening.

Another difference between the two groups lay in the constant emphasis by the conservative group upon education and reason while the evangelists displayed a certain anti-intellectualism and emphasized emotion rather than reason in religious experience. And yet even here it is not always clear because men were not always consistent and neither heart nor head dominated at all times or under all circumstances. In short, both groups were composed of very human individuals, interesting in their strength, appealing in their weaknesses and often delightful in their inconsistencies. The same may be said for the lay associates of these clergymen!

Both books are interesting from start to finish, well written, and for both of them the university presses have done their usual competent job of publication. All students of American cultural history will find them useful and will be grateful that able scholars have performed for them the burdensome task of working over masses of source material buried in the sermons, letters, and diaries of the clergy of a century ago and in the voluminous and tedious records of the voluntary associations and reform organizations of that day.

University of Minnesota

ALICE FELT TYLER

AMERICAN BUSINESS CORPORATIONS UNTIL 1860: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MASSACHUSETTS. By *Edwin Merrick Dodd*, Late Fessenden Professor of Law, Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xix, 524. \$7.50.)

FOLLOWING the tragic death of Professor Dodd and his wife in 1951, his classmate and colleague, Professor Zechariah Chafee, Jr., completed the preparation of this volume. Judicial decisions on corporation law (subdivided into problems of public law and private law) for the periods ending in 1830 and 1860 are first treated. Familiar opinions by Chief Justice John Marshall keep company with obscure cases from state courts. The author points out that American corporation law, more than any other branch of judge-made law, is "an indigenous product," developing independently of English decisions. English law prior to the American Revolution dealt chiefly with colleges, guilds, and other nonprofit organizations. The business corporation is predominantly an American device (p. 13).

Massachusetts statutes dealing with incorporation are then analyzed for the same chronological periods. Here the discussion is subdivided according to the type of business (banking, insurance, public utilities, manufacturing). Concluding chapters discuss the evolution of limited liability in Massachusetts and in other New England states.

To the lawyer and businessman today limited liability is one of the characteristic consequences of doing business as a corporation. Yet until 1830 the policy of Massachusetts was to impose personal liability on shareholders for unpaid debts of the corporation. Rhode Island retained unlimited liability until 1847. Not until 1851 did Massachusetts authorize incorporation under a general statute; and until 1893 in Rhode Island it was necessary to obtain a special act from the legislature every time a corporation was formed (pp. 366, 433).

Governor Levi Lincoln of Massachusetts, who had been Attorney General of the United States under Jefferson, played a prominent part in the elimination of unlimited liability. In 1826, less than a month before Jefferson's death, Lincoln recognized that the number of corporations already created, and their immense capital, made successful competition by an individual impossible (pp. 232, 414-15). But the depression of 1829 was largely responsible for the legislation of 1830.

Jacksonian Democracy (represented in Massachusetts by Governor Marcus

Morton in 1840) clung tenaciously to the earlier view that incorporation was a special privilege and should be limited to activities involving extensive enterprises of important public concern, "beyond the ability of individual efforts," and requiring exercise of the sovereign power of eminent domain. But if incorporation were to be permitted at all for ordinary types of business, it should be effected pursuant to general laws, available to all applicants on equal terms, without the political influence necessary to procure passage of a special act by the legislature (pp. 311-12, 394-95). The latter form of anticorporation sentiment prevailed, since it "found allies among those who cared nothing for the Jacksonian principle of equality but were eager to encourage the growth of business" (p. 436). The waning power of merchants and shipowners engaged in the import trade facilitated passage of laws to encourage domestic manufacturing corporations (p. 394). In 1851 Massachusetts enacted a general incorporation law, but in 1853 the voters rejected a provision (found in the constitutions of many states) prohibiting incorporation by special act, so that Massachusetts is now one of the few states where incorporation by special act is still possible (pp. 287, 449).

Besides scrutinizing the statutes, Dodd familiarized himself "with the economic and political history of the state, and with such contemporary records as committee reports and newspaper accounts of legislative debates" (p. 4). His thorough and detailed research has produced a volume which will be more useful to historians concerned with the rise of industrialism in America before the Civil War than to practicing corporation lawyers of the present day. For the author wrote as a historian rather than with utilitarian purpose.

Uniontown, Pennsylvania

EDWARD DUMBAULD

THE JACKSONIANS: A STUDY IN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY, 1829-1861. By *Leonard D. White*, University of Chicago. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. xii, 593. \$8.00.)

THIS third volume of Leonard D. White's pioneering history of public administration in the United States covers the period from the inauguration of Jackson to the outbreak of the Civil War. During these years the national government had withdrawn from the task of directing and controlling the development and growth of the society that it had first assumed under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton, and was operating in accordance with the dictum that that government is best which governs least. This fundamental change in political theory and practice was initiated by Jackson, not by his party or any interested group, and was a return to the principles advocated by Jefferson, the political theorist and organizer of the opposition party in the 1790's. But it also was in essential conflict with the practices of Jefferson as President and with those of his successors, Madison, Monroe, and Adams.

There were, as a consequence, many changes in administration, but since they were essentially withdrawals from areas previously occupied rather than entries

into new fields, they have been obscured by Professor White's essentially positive description of departmental and bureau activities. A few innovations were made during this Jacksonian period. Most of these were brought about by the development of real needs that had to be met such as the inspection of steamship boilers and the encouragement of scientific research in oceanography and related matters. The author has given an adequate and interesting account of these developments, but he has ignored completely the short-lived experiment with a national bankruptcy act in the early 1840's.

He has, however, rectified one serious omission in his earlier studies of the Federalists and Jeffersonians by including a short description of the administrative relations between the national Treasury and both national banks. Adequate attention has been paid to the joint relations between the two national financial agencies in handling government receipts, deposits, transfers, and payments, but he passes over in silence the other public activities of the Banks of the United States in providing a national currency, regulating domestic and foreign exchange, and controlling and sustaining the state banks.

Another omission in the preceding studies, an account of the use of mixed companies for the construction of internal improvements, has been remedied by a brief discussion of the beginnings of this movement with the subscription to the stock of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company during the Monroe administration and of its ending by Jackson's Maysville road veto. But not enough attention has been paid to the reasons for the use of this device, its accomplishments, and the effects of its discontinuance.

Professor White's principal interest throughout the book is not administration but personnel, and it is in this area that he has made his most important and interesting contributions. The individual actions of numerous officeholders of all ranks are described in detail because it is here that the author believes that the Jacksonian changes had their greatest influence. The Federalists and Jeffersonians, he says, had a preference for administration by the "well-born and well-to-do," but the Jacksonians instilled a democratic character into the American administrative system, which, in spite of its confusion and waste, "brought endless sources of vitality into the body administrative directly from the body politic."

The basis for this contention was the introduction of the principle of rotation into administrative offices, the substituting of one set of political partisans for another whenever the presidency changed hands, but the author, in making this distinction, has not adequately defined his terms or sustained his interpretation with evidence. He has not established any connection between birth, economic status, and officeholding, nor why rotation is more democratic than the older system of continuance in clerkships, but, of even more importance, he has not explained how the changes in personnel brought vitality or strength into administration.

Tulane University

THOMAS P. GOVAN

A WHIG EMBATTLED: THE PRESIDENCY UNDER JOHN TYLER. By Robert J. Morgan. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1954. Pp. xiii, 199. \$3.50.)

"ENERGY in the Executive," said Alexander Hamilton, "is a leading character in the definition of good government." John Tyler's enemies criticized him on many counts during his forty-seven presidential months, but lack of energy was never a conspicuous charge. If the annexation of Texas may be considered the principal event of his administration, Tyler also signed the Pre-emption Act of 1841 and left his impress upon Dorr's Rebellion, the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, the McLeod case, the mildly protective tariff of 1842, and the numerous measures he vetoed on constitutional or other grounds.

A gentleman of parts and polish, a statesman of determination and forcefulness—such is the Tyler reassessed here by a political scientist who thinks clearly and writes well. Incompatible nationalist and state-rights Whigs, the 1840 campaign humbuggery, and frail William Henry Harrison's fatal illness provided the setting for Tyler's accession. Then the erstwhile foe of Andrew Jackson's "executive usurpation" became Henry Clay's new nemesis. Not only did Tyler kill the Bank, twice veto Clay-promoted tariffs, and thrice defeat distribution of proceeds from the public lands, but he also helped Jackson's lieutenant James K. Polk beat Clay in the 1844 election.

Mr. Morgan's topical treatment supplements the findings of Chitwood, Fraser, Fuess, Poage, Reeves, Smith, Van Deusen, and Wiltse. The author puts Tyler's principles in focus from 1787, 1954, and especially 1841-45 viewpoints. He also relates Tyler's theory to his practice, demonstrating that the Virginian was not a merely obdurate man of commonplace mind. The slender aristocrat is always in the center of the stage. Many of his ten vetoes are stressed, together with ironies and incongruities of partisan and factional warfare. If Clay was a sadly disillusioned figure at the hour of Polk's triumph, the Whig weak executive theory must have seemed more passé than Harry of the West.

Shortcomings include an inadequate index and signs of careless proofreading. Mr. Morgan should have consulted Charles M. Wiltse's *John C. Calhoun: Sectionalist*, in connection with Tyler's appointment of Calhoun to the cabinet. But occasional slips are not nearly so significant as the book's solid and attractive features. Balance, compactness, and judicious interpretation make *A Whig Embattled* one of the most useful studies of a presidential quadrennium between Jefferson's day and Lincoln's.

University of Kentucky

HOLMAN HAMILTON

LINCOLN & THE PARTY DIVIDED. By William Frank Zornow. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954. Pp. xi, 264. \$4.00.)

THE presidential campaign of 1864 is a familiar story. Using a larger perspective than any previous historian or biographer, Dr. Zornow retells it in greater

detail but without startlingly new interpretations or conclusions. The study has solid worth, however; its merit rests chiefly upon thorough research and skill in presenting data in readable style and meaningful arrangement. Judicious handling of evidence does not obscure the author's sympathies, which are consistently with the President and his problems.

The central theme in this study of a divided Republican party and the no less divided Democracy is the opposition of politicians to Lincoln's renomination and re-election and his support by the people. Chase and Frémont and Butler, rivals among the Unconditionals, as the author renames the Radicals, each failed to enlist strong men unreservedly behind their candidacies and each failed to arouse popular imagination. Inability of Lincoln's opponents in the party to unite on a candidate assured the President's renomination. Had the Democrats united with the "Cleveland movement," the author believes, "they could have ruined Lincoln's hope of re-election."

Dr. Zornow makes his greatest contribution in evaluating the issues in the campaign and in analyzing election returns. Unionists stressed Democratic disloyalty and the clear-cut issue of emancipation. Democrats endeavored to capitalize upon violation of civil liberties, unnecessary prolongation of the war, and reconstruction of the Union "solely on the basis of the Constitution." But Unionists skillfully evaded the reconstruction issue, on which there was intraparty conflict. Because of this evasion, the author says, the Unconditionals' subsequent justification of their reconstruction program "as the fruit of a popular mandate" is incredible. The only mandate was emancipation; beyond it "the voters were deciding merely on two personalities."

In analyzing the election returns, Dr. Zornow accepts the standard conclusion that soldier participation, while preponderantly for Lincoln, did not affect the outcome; that the immigrant vote was decidedly for the Democratic candidate; and that the urban proletariat, except skilled laborers, also strongly supported McClellan. Lincoln's greatest strength, he says, came from "agricultural areas inhabited largely by native-born citizens," and he was also supported by professional men, Constitutional Unionists of 1860, and most of the Protestant groups. Rural areas dominated by the foreign element, Breckinridge men of 1860, and Irish Catholics voted the Democratic ticket.

The metaphor is an effective form of rhetoric if used with proper restraint. The following example seems too irriguous: "The current flowed on, however, and the spring freshet became an irresistible flood; the tidelands were overflowed, Chase's dykes were breached, Butler's hopes smothered in the turbid waters, and the Unconditionals struggled in vain for a pilot or a rudder to keep them from being swept under by the Lincoln tide, but it was of no avail. The current was too strong" (p. 69). No one would accuse Dr. Zornow of writing dry-as-dust history. In the latter half of the book he is less metaphorically inclined, happily without sacrifice of reader interest.

University of Oregon

WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON

MAIN STREET ON THE MIDDLE BORDER. By *Lewis Atherton*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1954. Pp. xix, 423. \$6.00.)

THE last century of American history owes much to midwestern towns of less than five thousand inhabitants, largely through the contributions of the young people who have gone from them to the great metropolitan centers. Yet they have received only incidental attention from American historians until the appearance of this thoughtful, well-organized, detailed, and well-illustrated study. It exploits census records, small town newspapers, manuscript collections, and most notably, the impressions and recollections of literary figures, from Mark Twain and Hamlin Garland to August Derleth and the earlier Louis Bromfield, who came out of this background. (William Holmes McGuffey sets the underlying themes.) It begins with the railway construction and related land speculation after 1865 that created or guaranteed the survival of these towns. It follows the evolution of such institutions as retail stores, livery stables, homes, and recreational facilities and of the various professions, employments, and resulting social classes.

From first to last the bankers stood at the apex of a hierarchy devoted to "the immediately useful and practical"—Dr. Atherton's reiterated key phrase. Preachers and teachers had a certain niche in the scheme of practicality, but as individuals they were rarely permitted to sink permanent roots. Artists were exiled as superfluous or at least premature. There was always a dream that this materialism might some day serve as the foundation for the arts and for an era of human betterment, but, not surprisingly, the means tended to become an end in itself. Faced by the challenge offered by the automobile, the radio, and standardized merchandising, such towns must now undertake self-reappraisal or decline into stagnant, fished-out pools. There are some signs of promise, and the average town continues rather slowly to grow in size.

The author comes from a small town background (as does the reviewer and perhaps a disproportionate number of the members of the profession) and he has a wonderful ability to evoke the sights, the sounds, and above all the smells of by-gone days. But he has produced neither an autobiography nor a subjective work. His confession that he both loves and hates what he himself remembers is confined to the book's jacket. The result is an outstanding example of solid and highly readable historical scholarship. It makes much less use of comparison with other periods, areas, and population levels than one might expect from the author's previous work and from that of such scholars as Thomas D. Clark and Everett N. Dick dealing with other sections. But many more such studies, including the increasingly exploited field of urban history, will be needed before such comparisons can be fully made.

George Washington University

WOOD GRAY

YANKEE REFORMERS IN THE URBAN AGE. By *Arthur Mann*. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 314. \$5.00.)

THE Enlightenment had had its day in Boston, and the New England conscience at the close of the nineteenth century was tired. The genteel tradition, long a New England disease, had swept over the Hub of the universe. Such was the judgment of that Kansas firebrand of liberalism, Vernon Louis Parrington, in his *Main Currents in American Thought*, and such is the judgment that Arthur Mann has proved false with an impressive marshaling of evidence.

It is not that Mann makes out a one-sided case. He points wryly to Boston's law of 1880 that, for the first time, allowed people to smoke in public. He shows the paradox that has always been Boston and New England and Puritanism, the passion at one and the same time to restrict and to enhance human freedom. He demonstrates that Boston's wealthy were not numbered in the ranks of the reformers; that many men of culture were pessimists rather than crusaders; that such Irish Catholic liberals as John Boyle O'Reilly were none too successful in attempting to square their democratic liberalism with their Catholic faith. But with all due account to the debit side of the ledger, there was still a goodly company on the credit side of liberalism.

The company was not only goodly, but diverse in character. It ranged from representatives of the earlier reformers, such as Wendell Phillips, who praised the Nihilists, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who felt pity for those "likely to have no convictions for which they can honestly be mobbed," on to members of the post-Civil War generation. Boston was the home of Rabbi Solomon Schindler, enemy of Jewish exclusiveness and proponent of the social welfare state, a position in which he was joined by more than one of the Boston clergy, Catholic and Protestant; of academicians like Robert A. Woods, leader in settlement work, and Frank Parsons, trust buster and advocate of public ownership of public utilities; of feminists who fought for women's rights; of a working class that added yeast to the intellectual ferment by joining the Knights of Labor and organizing trade unions. These men and women attest the fact that Boston's conscience was very far from tired as the nineteenth century drew to its close.

The reforming Bostonian of Arthur Mann's book was neither very new nor very numerous, but he was vocal enough and influential enough to give late nineteenth-century Boston an important place in the forward surge of that democratic impulse which, for many of us, is the best possible proof of the right of the United States to her position in the modern world.

University of Rochester

GLYNDON G. VAN DEUSEN

THE JEWS IN AMERICA: A HISTORY. By *Rufus Lears*. (Cleveland: World Publishing Company. 1954. Pp. xiv, 382. \$6.00.)

THE American Jewish Tercentenary year now being celebrated has seen the publication of a number of volumes devoted to a study of the history of Jews in

this country. By far the most practical and useful for the average reader is Rufus Learsi's one-volume work *The Jews in America*. Scholars, however, will find its chief virtue to be its major defect. It is, after all, a fleetingly brief catalogue of a three-hundred-year episode and aims to encompass the social, religious, economic, cultural, and demographic history of American Jews. This means that Learsi's work can be a worth-while textbook for the subject under study but certainly not the definitive work the jacket inscription heralds.

Nor is the author at fault. There are other reasons why this book cannot be definitive. Learsi is obviously familiar with the monographic literature in the field of American Jewish history. But the paucity of reliable *Vorarbeiten* and the dearth of good local Jewish community studies makes the writing of a one-volume "history" of American Jews an impossible task, at this date. In every field the author touches he is walking on virgin ground. He is without much benefit from prior scholarly spadework.

As a description, within the covers of a single book, of the major personalities, events, organizations, and statistics of American Jewish life, Learsi's work is excellent. He is careful, too, to relate his story to the Old World background of the immigrant, as well as to the important and determining aspects of the new American environment. But there is little historical analysis. Whenever the author goes beyond pure description he tends to become opinionated. Instead of analyzing developments and interactions from a socio-historical point of view, he editorializes. His ardor and convictions are admirable and movingly portrayed. But they are no substitute for straightforward reporting and objective interpretation.

One misses, too, an insight into the changing social structure of the American Jewish community as seen from the "inside out"—the Jewish communities outside of New York City. As with earlier attempts at such histories, the reader sometimes gets the feeling that the American Jewish community is coterminous with the national Jewish organizations whose offices are located in New York City. Little attention is paid to the patterns of community behavior which have developed in the social, religious, and cultural life of the Jewish community on the local level throughout America. The author sees too much in the national movements and as a result he misses the real community which exists in actuality and not as the projection of heads of national organizations. Thus it is that we get no real insight into questions dealing with acculturation; Christian-Jewish relations on a practical level; the socio-religious problems; the impact of economic factors on community life; the role of anti-Semitism as a force for community unity; the reasons for social and population mobility. These and a variety of other crucial factors go into the making of a history of American Jews. We will not find them discussed with any real insight in this book.

For all these necessary and obvious gaps the author has nevertheless produced a highly readable and moving book, which is popular and yet authentic. We now

have easy access to a volume that will serve for a long time to come as a useful textbook in the field of American Jewish history.

Rochester, New York

STUART E. ROSENBERG

PRELUDE TO POINT FOUR: AMERICAN TECHNICAL MISSIONS OVERSEAS, 1838-1938. By Merle Curti and Kendall Birr. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 284. \$5.00.)

In several recent articles Merle Curti has explored the images of America that foreigners established in the last century and that Americans tried to establish for them. A next step may be a more comprehensive study of acculturation and of ideas of national culture. *Prelude to Point Four*, however, concerns administration more than ideas; it is as instrumentalist in scope and orientation as some of Curti's earlier writing has been instrumentalist in philosophy. It tests assumptions of those who have advocated recent technical assistance programs (pp. 6-7), and calls on policy-makers of the present to witness principles adduced from the past (p. 218). While it does not extend beyond 1938, it concentrates in the main on the problems of "official missions which were designed to export useful knowledge to other countries" (p. 7).

Where the authors move outside their chosen task, it is more often to consider other official missions than to explore backgrounds domestic or foreign. "For over a century," they say, "Americans have been going abroad to help foreign governments solve their problems" (p. 204), and apparently they selected the years named in the title to include the Wilkes expedition of 1838-42, though they describe no official missions sent to help foreign governments before the Civil War, and few before the Spanish-American War. The story of twentieth-century missions is short enough to appear in considerable detail, some hitherto unpublished and much drawn from diverse sources.

As the authors are careful to say (p. 9), this study is in large part exploratory, leaving much to other hands. Their canvass is a legitimate one, and it is useful (to take their criterion) to have accounts of the forms and successes of various missions brought together at this time. Yet whatever the immediate tasks of the present, and the value of the present book in their context, one may hope that we will also soon have accounts of technical assistance and cultural exchange that will tell more of the attitudes, interests, and policies that inspired them at home, more of their impact on cultures abroad. It would be illuminating (and even useful) also to consider the American experience in possessions such as Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam; or in European areas under military administration; or in private concessions; or among the American Indian nations that President Washington undertook to instruct in the arts of civilization.

The bibliography and footnotes will be useful to those who wish to inquire further, and they attest to diligent research. The style is less distinguished and

occasionally stumbles noticeably even in a normally pedestrian pace, but it does not vitiate a solid and dispassionate contribution to knowledge and public policy.

University of Oregon

EARL POMEROY

SICILY—SALERNO—ANZIO, JANUARY 1943—JUNE 1944. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*. [History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Volume IX.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1954. Pp. xxix, 413. \$6.00.)

SEVEN years ago Rear Admiral Morison published *Operations in North African Waters, October 1942—June 1943*, the first to appear of his fourteen-volume *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*. Now, after seven other volumes covering the defensive phase in the Atlantic and the Pacific war through August, 1944, he resumes the story of the Mediterranean at the point where he left it in 1947. Granted the size of the panels and the van Eyck-esque style in which Admiral Morison paints, it is a tribute to his extraordinary industry that almost two thirds of his picture is already completed; that nine volumes of the naval history have appeared in eight years, as well as *The Ropemakers of Plymouth, By Land and By Sea*, and the admirable new edition of William Bradford.

This ninth volume, opening with the Casablanca Conference of January, 1943, when the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff successfully pressed for long-range strategic decisions, describes the assault upon Sicily in July, 1943, the occupation of that island, its successful evacuation by German troops, the landings at Salerno immediately following the shift of Italy to the Allied side, and finally the extended amphibious stalemate at Anzio during the late winter and spring of 1944. Although these events, closely related in time and space, all involved the United States Navy, they are of less specifically naval interest than the majority of Pacific operations previously described in the series. The invasion of Sicily, determined at Casablanca, was primarily a means of doing *something* in 1943 that would—in Sir Winston Churchill's words—make North Africa “a springboard and not a sofa” for the Anglo-American army assembled there, while preparations for a 1944 cross-channel operation were maturing. Salerno and Anzio were, likewise, operations hit upon in terms of supposed advantage in land fighting. Consequently to make the United States Navy's role in them intelligible, Admiral Morison has had to devote more than the usual space to the general political and military scene, to the land fighting following amphibious landings, and to the operations of the Royal Navy. In referring to the complication of these campaigns, he remarks that “in contrast to those in the Pacific, where the United States Navy called the tunes to which a single enemy had to dance, here in the ‘Med’ we had a very important ally, and two major enemies.” Although complicated in its pattern, this ninth volume is as readable as those that have preceded it. From it comes the clear evidence that during the Mediterranean operations of 1943 naval gunfire both proved its value in the support of troops ashore and disproved the

ancient doctrine that naval vessels should not expose themselves to fixed coastal batteries. Other points worthy of particular attention concern the distressingly successful German evacuation of Sicily, and the Air Force's desire to fight its own war—indicated succinctly by General Patton's exasperated remark to Admiral Hewitt, "You can get your Navy planes to do anything you want, but we can't get the Air Force to do a goddam thing."

Boston Athenæum

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

MACARTHUR, 1941-1951. By Major General *Charles A. Willoughby* and *John Chamberlain*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1954. Pp. xiii, 441. \$5.75.)

THOSE who wish may learn from this book that General MacArthur was right, eternally right, and that Roosevelt, Hopkins, Truman, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the British, the Navy, and almost anyone else they care to name were wrong. They may also discover to what astonishing degree the defense of Luzon, the campaign in New Guinea, the reconquest of the Philippines, the occupation of Japan, the victories in Korea, and the triumph over malaria depended upon this single man, comparable as strategist with such figures as Napoleon, Hannibal, Robert E. Lee, and (oddly) Homer Lea.

On historical fact the work is not always reliable; in strategic argument it is disingenuous. An example is the implication (p. 206) that the low casualties incurred in the reconquest of New Guinea, "not much above those" paid for the single Central Pacific island of Saipan, demonstrate the general's tactical genius and validate his strategic theory. "Not much" turns out to be 30 per cent on the figures given; using those of the official history it is 41 per cent; there is no hint that real estate costs reflect value, or that the seizure of strategic Saipan had political effects in Japan which no amount of marching through New Guinea could have produced.

This is, as stated in the introduction, a "headquarters story." Generals Eichelberger and Krueger, who did the work, are rarely mentioned. But despite frequent and lengthy quotations from staff estimates and records (not always identified or dated) no very solid picture of headquarters operations emerges. What does emerge is a history of a state of mind, the product of tension in a time of crisis, which compensates for frustration by a comforting belief in devils. This phenomenon, not unprecedented in our military history, can be seen today in books like this and like Admiral Theobald's *Final Secret of Pearl Harbor*, and in the spectacle of certain retired officers mobilizing "for justice." Happily the condition is not widespread.

Naval War College

JAMES A. FIELD, JR.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Oscar Handlin*. [Library of Congress Series in American Civilization.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 244. \$3.75.)

PROFESSOR Handlin's new handbook on the composition of our people is full of valuable substance artfully presented, but its title is somewhat misleading. The ten chapters describe in chronological sequence three periods within the past half century—those before and immediately after the First World War and the last twenty years, from the Great Depression to 1952. In this description one finds what the Americans thought about themselves as a nation, what groups formed the nation, what conflicts arose among those groups, and what changes in alignments and in feelings occurred as a result of great events, foreign and domestic. Throughout, the leading theme is ethnic and cultural variety and its political or social consequences. Professor Handlin's previous studies have obviously prepared him to treat it, as he does, with sympathy and judgment. But this treatment is only a part of what the title seems to promise.

If the book may be said to have a thesis as against a theme, it is that the old melting-pot idea is contrary to fact. The nation keeps bubbling and sometimes boils over, but the ingredients in the cauldron retain their identity. Hence the impression of earlier travelers that Americans were monotonously alike is simply not true, nor is there any danger that standardization is now a mere matter of time. "In 1940, still," says Professor Handlin, "young men born in America would refer to themselves as Polish or Italian, without knowing at all the language or country with which they thus identified themselves." And he adds: "Such differences survived, but not as the result of adherence to any theory of American life."

The corollary proposed is that neither the melting pot nor the ideal of the cultural pluralists is really at work among us. Observation undoubtedly bears this out, but one may ask whether this betwixt-and-between situation is not what was meant by the original melting-pot analogy. All national descriptions are relative, and no sensible man ever imagined that out of a hundred peoples from Europe, Asia, and Africa, the United States could fashion a perfectly homogeneous citizenry. In Great Britain the Scotch and Welsh are still clamoring for autonomy. In France the Bretons want independence and after 600 years the inhabitants of Dauphiné still mean "over there" when they use the phrase "in France." As for eastern Europe, it is still a crazy quilt of languages, religions and allegiances to imaginary pedigrees. Surely, compared with this the American diversity of national memories is a very feeble thing indeed. And since the cause has acted on those same powerful passions we see still active abroad, it seems reasonable to say that they have been melted out of us.

If not melted then ground out. For the change is progressive, as appears from the present inconceivability of such a statement as the one Professor Handlin quotes from the late Walter H. Page: "We Americans have got to . . . hang our

Irish agitators and shoot our hyphenates and bring up our children with reverence for English history and in the awe of English literature." By 1942, the present Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who was then Attorney General of California, asserted apropos of the Japanese problem that only the loyalty of Caucasians could be trusted. But, as our author shows, there was quick revulsion, and today the Supreme Court has got as far as ruling against segregation *überhaupt*.

Professor Handlin's book is so rich in detail that he inspires us with the wish for more. An example or two of "anti-German" persecution during the First World War—say, that of Karl Muck or Hugo Munsterberg in super-civilized Boston—would have been edifying. And in connection with the emancipation of the Negro, John Jay Chapman's amazing "act of atonement" at Coatesville deserved mention. As it stands, the volume deserves the interested reader's full gratitude for a task well done.

Columbia University

JACQUES BARZUN

AMERICAN DEMAGOGUES: TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Reinhard H. Luthin*. With an Introduction by Allan Nevins. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1954. Pp. xv, 368. \$5.00.)

WHILE the demagogue is an age-old historical figure, he is of special importance and interest to the historians of modern democratic nations because demagoguery, unfortunately, appears most frequently as a perversion of mass participation in the responsibilities of governing. Reinhard Luthin, who has written previously about the parallel emergence of the American demagogue with democratic political activity at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, here turns to an analysis of the contemporary examples of the species.

It is an analysis, however, which, in many ways, becomes a joyful obituary. As Mr. Luthin develops his interpretation of a series of the more sensational demagogues of our century, a definite pattern, with two major aspects, is made clear. On one side, there are the rural masters of the masses in the South, represented in the book by Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi, "Alfalfa Bill" Murray of Oklahoma, "Pa" and "Ma" Ferguson of Texas, Eugene Talmadge of Georgia, and Huey Long of Louisiana. These men are linked by Mr. Luthin to the conditions of the South that were the legacy of Reconstruction: a South of rural poverty and ignorance; of economic and social and political frustration, and of abiding distrusts and dislikes—conditions which gave rise to Southern demagogues of the 1890's who forged a tradition of race and class antagonism followed assiduously by their spiritual descendants in the succeeding decades. The other side of the pattern is drawn around the portrait of the city boss, a portrait which Mr. Luthin shifts from James Curley of Boston to William Thompson of Chicago, then to Frank Hague of Jersey City, and, finally, to Vito Marcantonio of New York. Here again are demagogues who stand in direct line of

descent from the city bosses of the nineteenth century and who gained their power from the same kind of social confusions and economic frustrations which were the inevitable outcome of the rapid growth of the large urban centers peopled with recent immigrants, unable to adjust easily to a new world which seemed to refuse to stabilize. Mr. Luthin then points out that it is the basis of the demagogue's strength to appear to provide a panacea for these frustrations but also, and equally important, to identify himself closely with the people so that they, in turn, can vicariously share the power of their leader. This has meant that the demagogue has been successful almost in direct ratio to the number of people that he could call by their first name. And this, in turn, has been responsible for the fact that the demagogue has traditionally been a local figure, operating in the South on a statewide level, circumscribed in the North by his city domain. These figures, so intimately linked to the American past, are also soon to be merely historical curiosities, according to Mr. Luthin. An expanding economy and great educational advances are obliterating the breeding ground of the Southern demagogue. The same economic progress, the integration of the immigrant into American life, the increasing of understanding of the needs of city life are having an equally salutary effect in the North.

But treated in the volume are one Southern demagogue, Huey Long, who began to break through the historical tradition of local power, and one Northern, Joseph McCarthy, who seems to stand completely outside of Luthin's pattern. In concluding with McCarthy, Mr. Luthin gives the somewhat awkward impression of suggesting a new kind of American demagogue, a subject for another book, without real connection to his predecessors. It is a weakness which stems from the organization of the book. Mr. Luthin has written about ten men, each given a brief biographical chapter based on a rich bibliography. As long as Mr. Luthin's demagogues can be placed against a clear-cut nineteenth-century pattern, a short biography makes them understandable. But the world of 1900 cannot be used as a backdrop to explain McCarthy or, in some ways, Huey Long.

University of Minnesota

DAVID NOBLE

THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE IDEA: ITS RISE AND DECLINE. By
Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell
University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 194. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR Whitaker's eight essays outlining the Western Hemisphere idea and then sketching its rise and decline from the eighteenth century to the present constitute a provocative foray into intellectual history. At the same time, his treatment provides a balanced interpretation of familiar materials bearing on inter-American affairs by placing them in broad historical context, a happy practice at some variance with the parochial squint generally characterizing so much of the vast literature on international relations in the Western Hemisphere.

The basic distinction between "the Western Hemisphere idea" and its expres-

sions in political terms like the Monroe Doctrine, the Drago Doctrine, Pan-Americanism, and the Organization of American States divides the work into contrapuntal themes, analysis of the interplay of which gives this particular work its principal value. "The core of the Western Hemisphere idea," Whitaker notes in his opening sentence, "has been the proposition that the peoples of this Hemisphere stand in special relationship to one another which sets them apart from the rest of the world." Presumed geographical unity, common experiences of adaption to a New World environment, struggles for independence from Europe, common institutions and ideas—especially the idea of the antithesis of Europe versus America—attracted a cluster of ideas and mystical sentiments that have for at least a century and a half brought forward important political expressions from United States and Latin-American statesmen.

The body of Whitaker's work traces in broad chronological periods the status and expressions of the idea, after outlining its formulation during the Enlightenment. Emphasizing the European origins of the idea complex, Whitaker stresses the crucial role played by the United States in its development and applications. He contends that probably words and deeds most nearly reached congruence in the period of World War II, but, for reasons which he adduces, the Western Hemisphere idea lost its grip on the mind of the United States even before that conflict and here has fallen into rapid decline since. Reorientation of the world, first on a globalist theme, then as "Free Nations" versus "Iron Curtain" nations, destroyed much of the rational basis for the idea, now leaving chiefly its *mystique* as a residue. Current expressions of the idea lie largely in the hands of Latin Americans.

Although the whole approach is novel and stimulating, one of the most important reinterpretations which emerges touches the Drago Doctrine, or what Professor Whitaker prefers to call "Drago's Economic Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine," treated as a separate chapter. There are many even in this country who will register dissent on his treatment of the past decade, where his factual underpinning is slimmer.

This attractively made volume is the published version of lectures presented in England in 1953. It makes no pretense at finality but rather is a pioneering statement of an intricate and significant problem, "the development of an idea which has played an important part in the history of the Western World for the past century and a half but is now in a state of crisis." Clearly written, and with a helpful bibliography, the work should be of utility to nonspecialists in related fields as well as required reading for Latin Americanists and the historians of ideas.

Library of Congress

HOWARD F. CLINE

THIS NEW WORLD: THE CIVILIZATION OF LATIN AMERICA. By William Lytle Schurz. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1954. Pp. xii, 429. \$6.00.)

THIS latest product of one of the outstanding experts on the Latin-American area is distinctly *sui generis*. It does not fall into any of the familiar categories of general works about a region. Neither a survey of the history of Latin America, an analysis of contemporary civilization there, a travel book, nor a collection of interpretative essays, it has elements of each. Primarily, however, it is an analysis and commentary on certain important aspects of colonial Latin-American society which are treated in chapters on the conqueror, the Negro, the foreigner, the church, the woman, and the city. Into this core of the book the distinguished author has distilled the fruits of his very extensive reading in the published narrative sources relating to colonial Latin-American society and of some documentary material. Footnotes (often including extensive quotations) to these sources, ranging from the early chroniclers through accounts of many later foreign observers of the colonial scene, provide the reader with a useful guide to the first-hand study of the subjects covered. The author also refers frequently to modern studies in this field. The use of first-hand material gives a freshness and a ring of authenticity to these chapters that is usually lacking in general works. Around this core other chapters are arranged. Those on the environment, the Indian, and the Spaniard, are more conventional but compare well with those provided in other general books. At the end of the volume there is a chapter on the Brazilian and a brief epilogue.

The mass of the material presented relates to the colonial period, but each chapter has been brought up to date by summary remarks on the subject for the subsequent era. These sections, though they reflect the author's good judgment and wide experience, are thin except for the treatment of cities which is a high point in the book. The full and interesting discussion of the role of women in Latin-American civilization neglects the modern period as does that on the foreigner. Bits of history from the conquest on are brought in here and there in connection with topics as they arise, but there is not enough of this to give a general view or to give continuity. In this reviewer's opinion the book might well have been limited to the topics which form its core. If chapters had been added on other topics which affected colonial society—rural life and problems, education and the arts, foreign contacts (commercial and intellectual), etc.—this book could well have been an excellent study of basic factors in colonial society. As it is, treatment is too selective to provide a comprehensive introduction. In conjunction with the author's previous *Latin America*, however, it comes close to the goal. On the subjects to which it addresses itself and for the period from which its data are mainly drawn the book goes far beyond the usual general work and brings together information not easily to be found in any one volume. There are—almost inevitably in this kind of book—a number of general statements which informed readers will hesitate to accept literally, or which such readers may wish had been more fully stated, supported, or qualified, but these are more than balanced by the urbanity and discretion which characterize the tone of the book as a whole, its sympathetic attitude toward its theme, and the lively sense of

reality which grows out of the author's use of primary materials and his long acquaintance with a vast continental area about which too many books are written from sketchy and inadequate knowledge.

Vassar College

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

HISTORIANS, BOOKS, AND LIBRARIES: A SURVEY OF HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP IN RELATION TO LIBRARY RESOURCES, ORGANIZATION, AND SERVICES. By *Jesse Hawk Shera*, Dean of the School of Library Science, Western Reserve University. (Cleveland, Press of Western Reserve University, 1953, pp. xvi, 126, index.) Although Dr. Shera is a librarian rather than a historian, this work should be useful to all research scholars and instructors of graduate students in the field of history. As Carl Wittke says in his foreword: "Though primarily designed to make librarians more aware of the world of historical scholarship and the historian's demands upon the resources and services of a well-administered library, this study will prove of value also to students of history who need to realize the importance of the most essential tool of their craft, and learn to use it to greater advantage." The exercises in the section headed "To the Student" in the author's introduction might well be used in the training of graduate students in history. After another introduction discussing "The Library and History," the work gets under way with a chapter on "The Scholar and History," which deals with "The Scope and Problems of History" and "The Methods of the Historian." The chapters that follow deal with the "History of Historical Writing" in general and with "American Historiography" and are followed by chapters on the "Social and Intellectual Organization of the Work of the Historian," "The Educator and History," and "The General Reader and History." Useful bibliographies and footnote references to pertinent literature are scattered throughout the work, but the index is far from adequate. The reviewer regrets that the book was not in existence when he was attempting to teach methodology and bibliography to graduate students in history.

SOLON J. BUCK, *Washington, D. C.*

ARCHIVKUNDE: EIN BEITRAG ZUR THEORIE UND GESCHICHTE DES EUROPÄISCHEN ARCHIVWESENS. By *Adolf Brenneke*. Edited by *Wolfgang Leesch*. (Leipzig, Koehler & Amelang, 1953, pp. xix, 542, DM 22.50.) In spite of its many shortcomings, this book represents an accomplishment that deserves the attention and appreciation of historians as well as archivists. Its origins go back to a course of lectures on *Archivkunde* given before the war by Adolf Brenneke as a member of the teaching staff of the Institute for Archival Science and Advanced Historical Studies in Berlin-Dahlem. Outstanding archivist, distinguished scholar in the field of the history of Lower Saxony, director of the Berlin Archives, and staunch supporter of human decency in the hopeless fight against Nazi oppression, Brenneke will be remembered gratefully and respectfully by all those who, like the present reviewer, had the privilege of serving with him and under him. Brenneke himself had planned to organize his lectures into a major book on *Archivkunde*, which term covers the theory as well as the history of archives administration. After his death on January 20, 1946, Wolfgang Leesch, one of his former students in the institute, undertook the most difficult task of preparing a complete set of lecture notes for publication, using in the process certain papers of Brenneke, rewriting a number of chapters on the basis of recently published literature, and contributing some chapters of his own. The first part of the book deals with the theory of archives administration treating topics such as archival terminology, archival "typology," and the development of archival theory

through the acceptance of the famous "principle of provenance." Of more interest to the historian is part two, entitled "Outline [*Grundzüge*] of a General History of Archives Administration." A relatively short chapter covers the archives of classical antiquity and the Middle Ages. The evolution of the German territorial archives to 1815 is dealt with in detail in a second chapter, wherein archives administration in the modern period is treated country by country with half of the space devoted to the organization of German archives during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In fact, the historical part of the book should be particularly valuable to the scholar interested in the source material of German history. Archival developments in other countries are dealt with less adequately and frequently on the basis of incomplete or outdated information. Similarly, the extensive bibliography is especially useful for material pertaining to the archives of Germany and adjacent countries. Nevertheless, every scholar expecting to use archival records would do well to study the relevant sections of this book. He will gain an excellent understanding of the growth and workings of archival institutions, which after all administer one of the most important classes of historical source material.

ERNST POSNER, *American University*

GOTEN UND WANDALEN: WANDLUNG DER HISTORISCHEN REALITÄT.

By *Hanno Helbling*. (Zurich, Fretz & Wasmuth, 1954, pp. 95, 9 S. fr.) This essay was prepared in 1952 to compete for a prize offered by the University of Zurich on the subject of the "Geschichtliche und literarische Bedingungen der traditionellen Vorstellung von Goten und Wandalen." The author remarks that he is concerned with the relationship between the immediate experience of a historical event and its subsequent evaluation. This relationship he pursues in two chapters: I, "Goten und Wandalen im geschichtlichen Bild der Spätantike," and II, "Goten und Wandalen im Spiegel der neueren Literatur." The first considers the reactions of such contemporaries as Rutilius Namatianus, Sidonius Apollinaris, Orosius, Salvian, Cassiodorus, Jordanes, and Procopius (to mention the more important), and the second the estimations of a very special group of writers, not necessarily historians, beginning with the seventeenth century. Among these the attitudes of Johann Jacob Mascou, Gibbon, Felix Dahn, and Eduard von Wietersheim are emphasized. If there is any unusual relationship, aside from a chronological one, between these two chapters the author does not bring it out. Obviously what Salvian has to say about these particular invasions would not be what Madame de Staël has to say about them. Among modern movements determining the interpretation of the *Völkerwanderung* the author stresses German nationalism, and among the more insane opinions of men of this stamp on this subject were those of Eduard von Wietersheim (*Zur Vorgeschichte deutscher Nation*). For him the German invasions were *das grösste universal-historische Weltereignis seit der Schöpfung* and brought about no less than *eine Transsubstantiation des Geistes der Menschheit* (pp. 74-75). The citations in the footnotes will be found useful to those interested in the subject.

EDGAR N. JOHNSON, *University of Nebraska*

GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG UND PSYCHOLOGIE. By *Hans W. Gruhle*, Professor der Psychiatrie und Psychologie. (Bonn, H. Bouvier, 1953, pp. 183, DM 8.50.) The concluding passage states the author's purpose and the high hopes he has for this book: "It would be excellent if acquaintance with this book would induce many historians to cultivate greater insight into motivation. . . . Historians have indeed accumulated a tremendous amount of material on factual relations, causes, and events; but the essential clarification of origins is everywhere lacking." Professor Gruhle's encyclopedic undertaking is compressed to an essay of 183 pages. Perhaps because of the complexity of the subject, the 34 pages devoted to Part I seem the most confusing.

Here, where Gruhle could have made his most original contribution as a psychologist, he has confined himself to scranbling together various traditional approaches to the problem of historical understanding and motivation; on the latter, for the most part, he repeats the well-known propositions from Max Weber's essays on the sociology of knowledge. This is the more regrettable because it seems that Gruhle does see clearly where psychology really challenges the historian: "Psychology is the science of the data and laws of psychic life. It has as little in common with practical estimation of character as the history of art has with the actual painting of pictures" (p. 37). But Gruhle does not instruct us in his science or tell how the historian could use it in his work to best advantage. The distinction that has just been cited is completely forgotten throughout the discussion of autobiographies and biographies. Instead, Gruhle offers as the quintessence of psychological insight a six-point prescription. Two of these six points may suffice to demonstrate that they are not remarkably original. Autobiographies are a rough source for events, data, and social relationships (in other words for facts), regardless of the evaluations expressed therein . . . they are a source for understanding of the attitude of the author and the group he represents toward arts and sciences." In his discussion of the methods of biographical writings, Gruhle remarks: "One could compare the task of the biographer with that of the psychotherapist. The aim of both is to understand the personality of a human being. The psychotherapist has the distinct advantage of knowing the person and of being able to compare his view of the person with the person's self-interpretation. The historian has the advantage of being able to survey the whole life of his hero, of knowing his letters, and knowing how he has been interpreted by contemporaries and by later biographers. . . . But, while the therapist has learned his trade professionally, the historian lacks psychological knowledge . . . his is the predicament of the amateur or dilettante" (p. 127). Again Gruhle the expert has whetted our appetite to learn from him; but, instead of being instructed, we are left with quotations from Dilthey. Indeed, it is because Gruhle has told us nothing about his psychology that this book will be of little use to students of history. WALTER GROSSMANN, *Harvard College Library*

THE AGE OF ABSOLUTISM, 1660-1815. By *Max Beloff*, Nuffield Reader in the Comparative Study of Institutions in the University of Oxford, Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford. [Hutchinson's University Library: History Section.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1954, pp. 191, trade \$2.40, text \$1.80.) This tightly organized little volume is packed to the brim with facts, with shrewd analyses and brilliant generalizations. Something, to be sure, has been sacrificed in the process of rigorous condensation. Thus, Italy and the Scandinavian states are barely mentioned, Poland and Portugal receive somewhat less than their meed, the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic era comes off thinly. These omissions, however regrettable, are more than justified by the attention devoted to each of the major European powers, to their political, social, and economic structure, to their external relations. The author, whose approach is institutional and sociological, has thoroughly mastered his subject, and the respective chapters on France, Spain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia under the Old Regime are notable for their realism, their penetration, and their striking comparisons and contrasts. No less admirable is the treatment of the maritime powers, England and Holland, and the competition for empire in the eighteenth century which, in the end, endowed Britain with world leadership. France, the author sagely observes, lost out in the struggle for overseas dominion because of the inability of its institutions to adapt themselves to imperial tasks. The author seems less convincing when he discusses the causes of the American Revolution: he questions the traditional explanations, yet can offer nothing in their place. Occasional errors have crept into the text, such as the designation of

Lord North as "British Prime Minister" (p. 154), or the statement that Louisiana was ceded to France in 1783 (p. 166). But these are minor flaws in this stimulating, informative book.

BRUCE T. McCULLY, *College of William and Mary*

FORGOTTEN LEADERS IN MODERN MEDICINE: VALENTIN, GRUBY, REMAK, AUERBACH. By *Bruno Kisch*, M.D., Professor of Philosophy and History of Science, Yeshiva University, New York. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume XLIV, Part 2.] (Philadelphia, the Society, 1954, pp. 139-317, \$2.00.) In presenting the results of his careful, detailed research on the careers of these four Jewish contributors to modern medicine, Professor Kisch has completed a twofold task: he has graphically portrayed the maddening frustrations of brilliant investigators barred from academic positions and adequate recognition, and he has skillfully analyzed their work in its historical setting so that the complex skein of nineteenth-century medical investigation becomes more intelligible. He has, moreover, demonstrated convincingly that historical justice demands a reassessment of credit for important discoveries or concepts. For example, the recognition usually given to Rudolf Virchow as the creator of the contemporary cell theory based upon the continuity of cell life really belongs to Robert Remak, and David Gruby's important physiological experiments on ether and chloroform narcosis are generally overlooked. The sketches, which are supplemented by complete bibliographies of Remak and Leopold Auerbach, incorporate a history of Jewish emancipation from the intellectual ghettos of central Europe. The 1812 edict of the Prussian government granting citizenship had originally permitted unbaptized Jews to teach in Prussian universities, but the university clause was soon revoked. Consequently the physiologist Valentin, barred from an academic career in Prussia in 1836, migrated to Switzerland to the liberal University of Bern, and David Gruby, a pioneer microscopist and founder of modern medical mycology, found a congenial environment in Paris. In spite of outstanding work in neurophysiology, cytology, and embryology Robert Remak became the first Jewish privatdozent of the medical faculty of the University of Berlin in 1847 only after a long struggle aided by the venerated Alexander von Humboldt. Likewise Leopold Auerbach's fertile microscopical research in Breslau was crippled by lack of adequate equipment and time, as he was forced to live by his private medical practice. The usefulness and value of these excellent accounts are increased by an index of names and interesting illustrations.

GENEVIEVE MILLER, *Western Reserve University*

DE KARL MARX A LÉON BLUM: LA CRISE DE LA SOCIAL-DÉMOCRATIE. By *Milorad M. Drachkovitch*. Preface by Hendrik Brugmans. [Etudes d'histoire économique, politique et sociale, VII.] (Geneva, E. Droz, 1954, pp. 180, 12 fr.) Milorad Drachkovitch, a native Yugoslav who now lives and teaches in Belgium, is already well known for a valuable monographic work on the attitudes of pre-1914 European socialism toward the problem of war. Here he has set himself the task of exploring on a larger scale the reasons for the general disappointments and frustrations of democratic socialism since the time of the Second International, dividing his work fairly evenly between the pre-1914 era and the years after 1917. It is not by any means a history of European social democracy that he has written but rather an exploratory essay; but it is a very stimulating and rewarding one. He makes clear at the outset that he attributes the weaknesses and failures of democratic socialism to the fundamental internal inconsistencies of Marxian doctrine, which he analyzes at some length. He then scores the failure of Marxian socialism, even of the revisionist school, to keep pace with the changes in European society since the last quarter of the nineteenth

century, criticizing the stubborn retention of anachronistic shibboleths and the unwillingness to recognize the dichotomy between its reformism in practice and its revolution-mongering in theory. In the years after 1917 he judges two phenomena as particularly fatal—the failure to create an effective opposition to totalitarianism both of the Left and the Right and the inability to utilize political power effectively whenever the opportunity presented itself. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the “crisis of social democracy” that even so penetrating and sympathetic an observer is unable to do more than warn in general terms that socialism must “re-think and modernize” its doctrine if it is to survive. Although many of his criticisms of Léon Blum, who is singled out among others as typifying the failures of twentieth-century socialism, are well warranted, his strictures against Blum for failing to take more revolutionary action in the Popular Front days, and some other observations too, seem somewhat less than fair. Surprisingly, no attention at all is paid to the last chapter of Blum’s career in the years after 1945. A useful bibliography complements this informative study even though a number of important works, including Joseph Schumpeter’s excellent *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, are missing.

JOEL COLTON, *Duke University*

STRATEGY: THE INDIRECT APPROACH. By B. H. Liddell Hart. (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1954, pp. 420, \$5.95.) Some years ago Captain B. H. Liddell Hart undertook a general survey of military history. The perspective gained from this survey enabled him to draw some striking conclusions about the effectiveness of the indirect approach in warfare. These ideas first set down in a volume entitled *The Decisive Wars of History* (London, 1929) are now made available in expanded form in an American edition under the title *Strategy: The Indirect Approach*. Captain Liddell Hart’s motives in putting forth his revised thoughts on this subject are clear. Like other thoughtful students of war, he is trying to spare men the fate that will be in store for them if modern weapons are used directly and without restraint. In a volume entitled *The Revolution in Warfare* (New Haven, 1947) Liddell Hart suggested that since wars are likely to occur again, despite man’s optimism and hopes, the most promising approach is to try limiting their destructiveness. He developed the theme that the more formalized warfare becomes, the less damaging it proves to be in the long run. To assist in this process, he proposed a code of limiting rules for warfare. Since he wrote that book, thermonuclear weapons have made their appearance and the prospect of early atomic abundance has enormously increased the threat of “mutual suicide” involved in their unlimited use. Far from canceling out the validity of the indirect approach, Captain Liddell Hart feels that the appearance of mass destruction weapons will hasten a reversion to “the indirect methods that are the essence of strategy,” since it is these methods which “endow warfare with intelligent properties that raise it above the brute application of force.” The success of the Communists in the limited wars fought since 1945 may be attributed, at least in part, to the fact that they are employing indirect methods in achieving their objectives. They have developed a guerrilla-like strategy of evading and hamstringing superior air-atomic power. As Captain Liddell Hart sees it, the more completely the Western Powers build up the “massive” threat of a direct application of our air-atomic power, the more we increase the effectiveness of the enemy’s guerrilla-type strategy. We cannot hope to reverse the flood of adversity which has been flowing in our direction until we have begun to match the aggressors in “strategic subtlety.” The major part of this book consists of a survey of warfare from the fifth to the twentieth centuries with an analysis of the strategies involved. Some very sound insights into the nature of strategy and warfare are to be found in the author’s summaries.

H. A. DEWEERD, *Santa Monica, California*

THE POLICY OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE TOWARD THE "ANSCHLUSS" OF 1938. By *Sister Mary Antonia Wathen*, Mount Saint Joseph Ursuline Motherhouse, Maple Mount, Kentucky. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1954, pp. vii, 224, \$2.50.) This scholarly monograph deals with certain aspects—chiefly diplomatic—of one of the several crises which are now generally considered to have constituted the prelude to the Second World War. It is based on published documents, particularly those of France, Great Britain, Germany, and the United States, on memoirs and diaries of some of the statesmen connected with the crisis; on personal interviews with Kurt von Schuschnigg and Camille Chautemps, and on some fifty secondary works concerned in one way or another with the diplomacy and international affairs of the period between the two world wars. Although it is a careful study which will give the uninitiated a good idea of why Hitler was able so easily to annex Austria to Germany in 1938, it is doubtful that those who are already familiar with the earlier works of Elizabeth Cameron, E. H. Carr, James Gantenbein, W. N. Medlicott, L. B. Namier, David Thomson, and Arnold Wolfers will discover much that is new. Even before 1954 others had arrived at the same conclusions as the author, namely, that Austria's fall was largely attributable "to the absence of a strong foreign policy on the part of the Great Powers," to disagreements between Great Britain and France "over Germany's power and position," and to the failure of "all the countries, which were to be later on destroyed or threatened by Nazi Germany," to present a united front against Hitler. The monograph would have been greatly enhanced in value, it seems to the reviewer, by the inclusion of the results of a study of the editorials of the British and French newspapers and periodicals at the time. The British government, the author explains, was "greatly handicapped by its inability to determine . . . the wishes of the British people" (p. 33). It would be interesting to know, at least, the editorial views of the press.

F. LEE BENNS, *Indiana University*

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1951. Selected and Edited by *Denise Folliot*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. xxv, 698, \$9.60.) A fairly staggering arrearage in the wartime volumes of this estimable series of international documents and surveys has fortunately not kept certain of the Chatham House scholars from proceeding into the postwar decade. With this volume of documents and the *Survey of International Affairs, 1951*, to which it is companion, the series returns to its annual basis for the first time since 1938. Although a leisurely review should not complain, one may note that the documents for 1951 were not published until 1954 though the editor completed her task by the end of 1952. Miss Denise Folliot has demonstrated judgment and skill in selecting the some four hundred documents that make up this volume. Her preface exhibits a few odd choices of word and phrase, but it is well designed to stifle thoughtless laments about omissions and balance. Miss Folliot minified the pains of translation by relying in the main on *The Times* of London, and on official publications in English of the United Nations, the United States, and Great Britain. A few documents she left in French, a pleasant cross-channel gesture and a fact of relative indifference were it not for a number of the Schuman Plan treaty's one hundred articles that would baffle an uneconomic man in his mother tongue. The realities of power are reflected in the allotment of space. The United States and Soviet Union have two columns of entries each in the index, Great Britain somewhat more than one, France somewhat less. Africa (aside from Egypt) and Latin America are virtually ignored. Germany with its latent power and uncertain destiny tops the list with three columns and Dr. Konrad Adenauer is

easily man of the year. However, great-power politics and sterile diplomacy over the Korean war and Germany are not given a monopoly. Remarkably full coverage of its multifarious activities gives the United Nations second place, and several documents are given the Council of Europe, whose statute, in spite of amendment late in 1951, remained basically civilian and idealistic in conception and aims. For continuing this series, whose volumes must be forever doomed to be worst sellers, the Royal Institute of International Affairs merits gratitude both from those who deny that scholarship must wait for the post-mortem and from those who think it is not too late to give time to understanding.

THOMAS P. BROCKWAY, *Bennington College*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

ROMAN IMPERIAL MONEY. By *Michael Grant*, Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh, President of the Royal Numismatic Society. (Edinburgh, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1954, pp. x, 324, 40 plates, £2.10s.) A strong merit of Professor Grant's book is that it does indeed fill out the farthest corners of its far-ranging title while avoiding the pattern either of a bare compilation or of a succession of essays merely *about* coins. Instead, for far the most part the reader is brought directly to the consideration of individual coins. This is managed by ranging the detailed examination of some ninety-nine coins into thirteen coherent groupings, each of which is organized as a chapter with a single main focus of interest. The heart of the book lies in these chapters, where each topic is pursued right out onto the frontiers of current scholar-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

ship. Yet even here the intelligent general reader is well served. Every coin is illustrated either by a figure in the text or on the clearly executed plates. Necessary technical terms are explained in a glossary. Most effectively treated are these topics: the system of mints as developed under Augustus and the Julio-Claudians, the still obscure but important matter of "Provincial Coinage," "Imperial Countermarks," the excellent brief statement on "Personifications" (pp. 151-55), and the condensed restatement (pp. 179-84) of Professor Grant's own view of the large part played by imperial anniversaries in the selection of coin types. The introductory and concluding chapters are organized on a more orthodox plan. The first, "The New Age," deals with the significance of Augustus' establishment of the principate, and his general manner of dealing with coinage to assist his policy. The two final chapters, "Debasement" and "The Circumstances of Debasement," bring the text to a close on the note of the economic embarrassments of the third century A.D. Of the book as a whole some readers may feel that for a work intended to give a general picture of an entire subject this is too personal a performance. That issue Professor Grant has met head on in his preface: "I have allowed it to be restricted by the bias of my own personal interests." In the opinion of this reviewer the author is well justified by the positive qualities he has gained for the central chapters of the book.

WALTER F. SNYDER, *University of Richmond*

DAS SELBSTZEUGNIS KAISER KONSTANTINS. By *Hermann Dörries*. [Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, Nr. 34.] (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954, pp. 431.) This monograph by the professor of ecclesiastical history at Göttingen is a very important contribution to the recent literature on Constantine the Great, so full of arresting conclusions that it is hard to evaluate properly within the limits of an ordinary review. The author seeks to determine the original purpose of Constantine in establishing his union of state and church and to present a complete picture of his fundamental convictions on the basis of the emperor's own utterances without consideration of the appraisals of other ancient writers. Consequently, he has assembled in the first part of the book a chronological list of every document that can be attributed directly to Constantine under the headings Letters and Edicts, the *Oratio ad Sanctorum Coetum*, Laws (Constitutions), as well as other imperial edicts on religion of the years 311-313. These are not quoted in full either in the original or in translation but are paraphrased and interpreted with quotations of the significant passages. As for the *Oratio*, its historical evaluations and its concept of Christianity are held to emanate from Constantine himself. The inscriptions contain dedications to Constantine in addition to those which can be ascribed to him. Of the religious edicts, Dörries considers the Toleration Edict of Galerius and the four edicts of Maximin Daia were uninfluenced by Constantine but that the edict of Licinius of 313 ("Edict of Milan") directly reproduced his basic ideas. From the material thus assembled the author, in the second part of his study, presents his interpretation of Constantine's fundamental attitudes and beliefs which determined his religious policy, in particular his understanding of his imperial office and his belief in his special mission, his view of the church, his relation to paganism, his attitude toward God, and his Christology, all ably drawn together in a discussion of Constantine and his age. Constantine emerges as a convinced Christian, converted by his personal experience of the power of God, who saw in history the working of a divine Providence which had chosen him to end the era of persecutions and to rule in peace an empire united in Christianity. His breach with paganism was complete, although he was not free from superstition. He allied himself with the church not from political motives but because he felt it was under God's protection, its services

secured the divine favor for the whole empire, and its clergy were the associates he needed for the fulfillment of his mission. But Constantine had no real understanding of doctrinal controversies, his theology was controversial, and his confusion of doctrine and law made for the suppression of freedom of thought. The author believes that Constantine's own testimony provides a basis for an evaluation of the reports of others concerning him, and in an *Anhang* he applies this to an elucidation of the account in the *Vita Constantini* of the mausoleum planned by the emperor for himself, rejecting the view that he sought to be honored as a thirteenth Apostle.

A. E. R. BOAK, *University of Michigan*

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

S. BERNARDO: PUBBLICAZIONE COMMEMORATIVA NELL' VIII CENTENARIO DELLA SUA MORTE. [Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del S. Cuore, Nuova Serie, Vol. XLVI.] (Milan, Vita e Pensiero, 1954, pp. x, 197, 1000 L.) This is a work of compact integrity. It comprises a series of closely related studies by a group of distinguished Roman Catholic scholars. Space limitation permits no detailed analysis, only a brief descriptive notice. Preliminary anticipations of serious overlapping prove largely unfounded. Once properly placed in the twelfth-century milieu (E. Franceschini), and always referable to the character of Benedictine monachism (P. Schmitz), Bernard is not so much repetitiously reviewed as seen within the unified diversities of his personality. Dom J. Leclercq views him as theologian, Dom M. Standaert ponders his spirituality, and P. Edouard Wellens considers him as "mystique et docteur de la mystique." These three closely related investigations do not, of course, wholly escape repetitive emphasis, but they are informed with sufficiently individualized insights and enough resourceful documentation to constitute the focalizing unity of the book. Perhaps no less pertinent to commemorative celebration are the evaluations of Bernard as philosopher by Sofia Rovighi, and as Maryologist by P. Gabriele M. Roschini. The first of these places the saint amid the central currents of thought and the latter interprets the basic documents. C. H. Talbot's is a workman-like judgment of Bernard's role in the world of letters, Christine Mohrmann's a charming appreciation of his style. Michelangelo Gagliano de Azevedo, professor of archaeology in the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, writes appropriately on "Il Monastero cisterciense di S. Ambrogio," even as Fr. Agostino Gemelli, rector of the university, provides the "Presentazione." These studies are in keeping with the purposes and objectives of this academic institution and the communion it serves.

RAY C. PETRY, *Duke University*

CARTULAIRE DE L'HÔPITAL SAINT-JEAN DE BRUXELLES (ACTES DES XII^e ET XIII^e SIÈCLES). By *Paul Bonenfant*. (Brussels, Académie Royale de Belgique,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1953, pp. li, 433, 360 fr.) A work of infinite patience, skill, and scholarship, first begun some thirty years ago and now worthily issued as an official publication of the Académie Royale, this monumental volume will preserve against the inroads of devastating time the earliest texts of the cartulary of Saint-Jean de Bruxelles. Many of the original documents of this important hospital have already succumbed to the ravages of the centuries. With a sureness which was to be expected of Paul Bonenfant 278 texts have been reassembled in chronological order, from the originals wherever possible but always with full and precise listing and collation also of all later copies, analyses, and editions. Each document is furnished with a summary, with a meticulous critical apparatus, and with identifications of the various persons and places mentioned in it. A careful introduction and a series of informative appendixes and indexes assist the reader to an understanding of the actual workings of this charitable institution from its first beginnings in 1186 through the year 1300—the benefits and bequests which accrued to it, the regulations which governed it, the attitude of Rome—and, beyond these, to a better appreciation of certain aspects of life in the city outside its walls. The indexes will in themselves be valuable tools of reference. The whole is sumptuously printed, on fine paper and with magnificent margins, by the Académie's official printer, J. Duculot of Gembloux. He and his editor have been constantly aware of the contribution that intelligent use of various fonts and sizes of type can make, in complicated material, to clarity of content and convenience of consultation. If the cartulary can eventually be edited beyond the year 1300, the guiding principle will be the one which has motivated Paul Bonenfant here and which in one form or another is set down so often and so truly in the documents themselves, "Scriptorum munimine perutile est memorie commendari que per lapsum temporis possunt in oblivionis atrio sepleri." DOROTHY M. SCHULLIAN, *Cleveland, Ohio*

KUNGAMORDET I FINDERUP: NORDISKA FÖRVECKLINGAR UNDER SENARE DELEN AV ERIK KLIPPINGS REGERING. By *Hugo Yrwing*. [Publications of the New Society of Letters at Lund, No. 45.] (Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup, 1954, pp. 205, 18 kr.) This monograph deals with the circumstances preceding and culminating in the murder of a thirteenth-century king of Denmark. The story is developed with due emphasis on its national and international implications. It involves the Wendish towns of North Germany, Norway's trade with England and the possibility of a Norwegian princess ascending the vacant throne of Scotland, Erik Klipping's efforts to intervene in Swedish affairs when Valdemar Birgerson was trying to regain the kingship in Sweden, and the troubles the king encountered with leading Danish nobles and prelates. It was further complicated by the claims of rivals to the Danish throne, namely the descendants of King Abel, who had himself been suspected of murdering his brother, Erik Plowpenny. The death of Christopher in 1259 left the succession to his young son, Erik Klipping (ca. 1249-86), whose guardians were headed by his able and energetic mother, Margaret Sambiria. The threats from the dethroned Abel dynasty were their constant concern and they continued throughout the king's reign. The fragmentary character of the surviving documents has led many historians to make educated guesses as to the course of events that preceded the final disaster. Yrwing's objective is to re-examine the sources critically to see where revisions of earlier judgments are indicated. He finds himself at variance to greater or lesser degree with such Danish authorities as L. Holberg, A. E. Christensen, E. Arup, K. Erslev, E. Jörgensen, and Henning Matzen, and Norwegian historians such as J. Schreiner, E. Munch, Y. Nielsen, and A. Bugge. The result is a revisionist version of a much-discussed episode in Danish history wherein the author analyzes anew the tensions that developed between Norway and the North German towns, Denmark and Nor-

way, and finally between Erik and his nobles. This detailed critical study is clearly aimed at the scholar, and only a trained fellow scholar with abundant space at his disposal can evaluate it properly. This reviewer can only venture his humble personal opinion that Yrwing has made a significant and challenging contribution to a problem that has attracted the careful attention of many distinguished Scandinavian scholars, and that he has brought the episode into a fresh focus which future historians of the period will wish to take into account.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD, *University of California, Los Angeles*

THE HISTORY OF MEHMED THE CONQUEROR. By *Kritovoulos*. Translated from the Greek by *Charles T. Riggs*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1954, pp. ix, 222, \$5.00.) Mehmed II, known to his countrymen as Fatih (conqueror) Sultan Mehmed, is the most colorful and perhaps the best known of Ottoman sultans. As a warrior he has been compared to Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, and Tamerlane, and as the able administrator of his ever-growing empire his claim to greatness is seldom questioned. In the West he is best remembered as the conqueror of Constantinople. Little is known of this able, stern, and ruthless man, for, until the publication of Franz Babinger's considerable work (see *AHR*, January, 1955, p. 348), there was no biography of Mehmed II even in Turkish. Our sole source of information about him has been a few well-known Greek historians, such as Dukas, Chalcocondyles, and Phrantzes. In the 1860's a Greek manuscript of what proved to be a partial biography, written by Kritoboulos of Imbros (not Kritovoulos) was discovered in Constantinople. In 1870 this was published by Karl Müller as Volume V of his *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*. Soon after that (in 1875) it was issued again in Budapest as part of Volume XXII of *Monumenta Hungariae historica* (ser. Scriptores). Almost simultaneously Hungarian and French translations were issued, the latter under the editorship of P. A. Dethier. In 1910 a Turkish translation was published serially in the *Revue historique* of Constantinople. Thus the present translation, made from Müller's Greek text, is the sixth published in any language. The work is of uneven value and fragmentary in that it deals only with the first seventeen years of Mehmed's life as sultan (1451-1467). Kritoboulos has nothing on Mehmed's first twenty years as crown prince and on the last fourteen years as sultan. His description of the fall of Constantinople is of particular interest; so are the parts of his work dealing with Mehmed's campaigns in Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, and on the Asiatic shores of the Black Sea. In all his undertakings the sultan is shown as the supreme planner and faultless executor. The author was not an eyewitness of the events described but a contemporary. Not much is known about him. He mentions himself as a Greek of Imbros (pp. 142-49). His avowed attempt to imitate Thucydides degenerates into Levantine eulogy, and his dedicatory epistle "to the Supreme Emperor, King of Kings, Lord of land and sea," etc., is reminiscent of the messages addressed to Stalin by his worshipful admirers. This welcome translation by a well-known former missionary (now deceased) is a fairly useful addition to the meager literature on the subject. It would have gained considerably if an index and some important notes were added to this supremely well-printed book.

A. O. SARKISSIAN, *Library of Congress*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson¹

JOHN WHITGIFT AND THE ENGLISH REFORMATION. By *Powel Mills Dawley*, Sub-Dean and Professor of Ecclesiastical History, the General Theological Seminary, New York. [The Hale Lectures, 1953.] (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954, pp. xii, 254, \$3.00.) Professor Dawley has given us a scholarly and readable history of the Anglican Church during the life of John Whitgift (1532?-1604). His thesis is that the Anglican Church of the Tudor period was the true descendant, both spiritually and ecclesiastically, of the medieval Catholic Church of England, and that it was enriched by a synthesis of this tradition with the new intellectual and religious changes of the Renaissance and Reformation. He maintains that Englishmen continued to believe in a comprehensive Christian society in which men had a uniform faith and were obedient to a single civil authority. The Elizabethan settlement, according to Dawley, constituted a restoration of the national church under royal rather than papal supremacy. Its unique, dynamic feature was its comprehensiveness, within the limits of which Elizabeth I demanded only outward conformity as an expression of loyalty to the crown. To this settlement, John Whitgift gave his loyalty as a professor, master of Trinity, and vice-chancellor at Cambridge, deacon in Ely Cathedral, dean of Lincoln, bishop of Worcester, and archbishop of Canterbury. By his character, ability, and courage he did more than any other person to preserve the settlement against the attacks of both Catholics and Puritans. Alarmed by the political implications of recusancy and Puritanism, he used the methods of a grand inquisitor. Like J. B. Black and J. E. Neale, Dawley defends his inquisitorial procedures as the only means for preventing political disruption and civil war. Although the author is correct in maintaining that the Elizabethan settlement was a continuation of the life and faith of the ancient church, his assumption that the shift of allegiance from the pope to the king was a relatively minor one will be questioned by many. Moreover, since Puritanism also had roots in the soil of pre-Reformation England, a settlement along Puritan lines could likewise have been justified on historical grounds. That is not to state, however, that Dawley has failed to evaluate the Puritan opposition in all its complexity. His book deserves to be widely read.

HAROLD J. GRIMM, *Indiana University*

MIRRORS FOR REBELS: A STUDY OF POLEMICAL LITERATURE RELATING TO THE NORTHERN REBELLION, 1569. By *James K. Lowers*. [University of California Publications, English Studies, No. 6.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953, pp. vi, 130, \$2.00.) This short book deals not only with the polemical literature inspired by the Northern Rebellion of 1569 but also with the broader question of what the author calls the Tudor doctrine of absolute obedience. Unfortunately

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

the author cannot do justice to the historical development and the implications of this doctrine in so brief a compass, and, in his attempt to do so, he has had to fore-shorten his consideration of the polemical literature until it becomes a mere summary of the contents of the pamphlets and ballads. He has thus fallen between two stools. This is rather a pity, since he says enough about each of his two subjects to indicate that a thorough study of either of them would be interesting.

MAURICE LEE, JR., *Princeton University*

THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN IRELAND, 1784-1841. By *Brian Inglis*. [Studies in Irish History, edited by T. W. Moody, R. Dudley Edwards, and J. C. Beckett.] (London, Faber and Faber, 1954, pp. 256, 25s.) This treatise is the sixth of a group of monographs edited by the professor of modern history in the University of Dublin, the professor of modern Irish history in the National University of Ireland, and the reader in modern history in Queen's University, Belfast. Like several of the series, it served as a dissertation for the Ph.D. at Trinity College, Dublin. In an introduction and six chapters Dr. Inglis examines the development of the Irish press and attempts to regulate it, "from 1784 when statutory limitations were first enacted to curb the activities of the press, to the period of whig administration of 1835-41, which gave Ireland a period of unusual tranquillity, reflected in the newspapers before the threat of rebellion once more brought the press and the administration into conflict." Virtually every aspect of the problem is discussed with care and understanding—the nature of the Irish press, the character and application of restrictive measures against it, the plight of independent journals as contrasted with the "castle" species, the varying fortunes of "opposition" sheets, the journalists, many of them colorful individuals (Carey, Magee, Higgins, Giffard, Cooney, and others), the significance, vis-à-vis the newspapers, of leading political figures (e.g., Peel, Melbourne, O'Connell), and the complications produced by nationalism, Catholic emancipation, the United Irishmen, and other forces. Of two major omissions—newspaper circulations during the late eighteenth century and the press and public opinion—one cannot be ascertained because adequate statistics are not available; the other is treated in two earlier "Studies" by R. B. McDowell. Perhaps the principal weakness of the book is the absence of a formal "Conclusion." Numerous conclusions *are* presented, however, two of the most suggestive of which are: (1) by the late 1830's "the Irish press could aspire to act in a fourth estate capacity"; and (2) although the 1840's were to witness a revival of governmental attempts at control, the struggle for press freedom had not been in vain—the establishment of the *Nation* in 1842 was to ensure a continuation of the crusade. A trained historical scholar and an experienced journalist, Dr. Inglis is well qualified for the work he has done. He has consulted a wide range of primary sources, and his judicious and critical use of them, coupled with a pleasing style, make the volume a significant contribution to the study of the subject and the period.

JOHN HALL STEWART, *Western Reserve University*

THE CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION CRISIS IN IRELAND, 1823-1829. By *James A. Reynolds*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 60.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1954, pp. vii, 204, \$3.75.) Mr. Reynolds peers below the surface of the Catholic Emancipation movement and, without detracting from the magic of Daniel O'Connell's leadership, he brings into sharp focus the surprising readiness of the Irish masses to participate in this agitation. From a halting beginning in 1823 in Dublin, the Catholic Association grew to astonishing proportions. Far from being a revolutionary conspiracy, the association pledged itself to employ only legal and constitutional measures. As the association spread, county, town, and parish organiza-

tion followed. Within a year the Catholic clergy, many with the approval of their bishops, became active participants. The spontaneous mobilization of the Catholic masses caused anxiety in Westminster. O'Connell, in 1825, won a premature victory in the House of Commons, but his easy acquiescence to certain conditions—the “wings”—drew upon him, until he recanted, the criticism of an aroused people. By the end of 1828, with the enrollment of three million members, the pressure was too great for the British ministry to withstand. The duke of Wellington won from a reluctant sovereign permission to introduce as a government measure one which he had himself consistently opposed—unqualified emancipation. Mr. Reynolds, in his penetrating study, assesses accurately not only the contribution of O'Connell and Sheil but that of the lesser and equally indispensable men. Most of all he demonstrates that it was the role of the clergy that made emancipation a mass movement. From newly tapped sources the author tells us much that we did not know about the penny-a-month Catholic rent. He analyzes the Waterford and Clare elections which in upsetting the traditional electoral pattern in Ireland persuaded a number of Irish M.P.'s of the expediency of concession. The explosiveness of the Clare election, coupled with the strength of the island-wide organization of the populace, created apprehension not only in London but among the lay and clerical leaders of the association. The king's ministers foresaw, correctly, a repeal movement in the making; the clergy, an agrarian uprising with all its accompanying fury. By means of concession, both, for the moment at least, were forestalled.

JOHN E. POMFRET, *Huntington Library*

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY IN THE INTER-WAR YEARS. By P. A. Reynolds. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1954, pp. xi, 182, \$2.25.) Any survey of British interwar foreign policy at this stage is at best a tentative endeavor. The rich materials in such collections as the *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, the *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, the *Proceedings* of the Nuremberg trials, the *American Foreign Relations* series—our main sources of information—are a long way from being complete, and the outpouring of memoirs, apologia, and “inside stories” has raised as many questions as it has solved problems. At the same time, its very closeness in time permits the careful observer to capture something of the feeling of a period whose spirit emerges only feebly from so much of the official record. Professor Reynolds is to be congratulated, therefore, for casting in his lot with the group of scholars, few in number in Great Britain, who have rejected the notion that the recent past is somehow not quite a respectable field for historical study. Originally written for use in German schools and universities, this little volume was revised for English publication in the light of the documentary materials made available in the past several years. It makes no claim to completeness nor indeed to any new revelations, but it does seek to furnish an accurate account of the main currents and the factors behind British foreign policy. It should be said at once that the author has succeeded in his aim. Starting out with a description of the position and attitudes of the United Kingdom after the First World War, he discusses in brief compass the approaches to the twin problems of security and disarmament, the handling of the reparations issue, the complicated pattern of British policy in the Middle East. After considering relations with the Soviet Union and the United States, he centers his attention, as he comes to the era of attack upon the postwar order by Japan, Germany, and Italy, upon the major crises of that decade—in Manchuria, Abyssinia, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and finally Poland. The beginning students for whom this book is designed will find the main outline of the story a familiar one, but they will also find in the author's comments a sensible and convincing assessment of the reasons for the course

of British policy from 1919 to 1939. There will be no quarrel with the conclusion that it was a failure, nor is there likely to be much cavil with the summation of the causes of that failure as "the attempt to pursue traditional policies when British power was no longer sufficient and world conditions were no longer wholly suitable, and the pursuit of conciliation and tolerance to the point of failure to recognize evil, and in evil danger." All in all, this is a sound, well-balanced account and will be of considerable value. Professor Reynolds has included a brief bibliography from which, curiously enough, W. N. Medlicott's admirable general summary of *British Foreign Policy since Versailles* has been omitted.

HENRY R. WINKLER, *Rutgers University*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

LA VIE ARTISTIQUE EN FRANCE AU XVII^e SIÈCLE (1598-1661): LES ARTISTES ET LA SOCIÉTÉ. By René Crozet, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Poitiers. (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1954, pp. 211, 1000 fr.) The author's purpose in writing this volume was not to treat works of art as such but instead to show the specific social milieu in which they were produced during the period in question. This highly significant subject, however, is here handled in disappointing fashion, largely because of the very narrow limits within which it is treated. To this extent, the title of the work is deceptive in leading the reader to expect a much more comprehensive handling of the subject. After brief introductory remarks concerning the professional training of artists in the seventeenth century, the bulk of the work

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

is little more than a catalogue of artists, their works, and their patrons. This material is arranged under four heads according to the source of patronage: royal, noble, ecclesiastical, and bourgeois. Thus the work will serve as a convenient reference manual for anyone who wishes to check the specific provenience of almost any work of art of the period, and it gives a general indication of the extent to which various social groups served as patrons of artistic endeavor. But for further information the student of the period must look elsewhere. The volume contains nothing on the broader phases of the subject, such as the manner in which the social currents of the age influenced artists and their works or the ways in which the latter reflected the social and intellectual life of the period. WILLIAM F. CHURCH, *Brown University*

JEAN-SYLVAIN BAILLY: ASTRONOMER, MYSTIC, REVOLUTIONARY, 1736-1793. By *Edwin Burrows Smith*, Wayne University. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume XLIV, Part 4.] (Philadelphia, the Society, 1954, pp. 427-538, \$2.00.) This is an excellent biography of the presiding officer at the taking of the Tennis Court Oath and first mayor of Revolutionary Paris (1789-91). Its virtues begin with an extended and informing account of his intellectual development, continue with a highly intelligible relating of this to his rapid rise and fall during the Revolution, including a brief but measured estimate of the man's historical significance, and end with a useful bibliography. Jean-Sylvain Bailly, like many of the older early leaders of the Revolution, already had made a distinguished place for himself before that tumultuous era opened. Best known then as the author of a four-volume history of astronomy, he was also considered something of a stylist because of several *Eloges* he had written, and he would have been elected to the Academy some years before he finally won a chair in 1784 had it not been for the determined opposition of d'Alembert, whose animosity in large measure was due to intra-*philosophe* sectarianism—Bailly being somewhat more conservative politically and inclined, when confronted by the enticing usefulness of *vraisemblance* in coping with *la vérité inaccessible*, to be tempted by *l'esprit de système* and the outlook of a *frère illuminé*. Despite these leanings, however, he was the reporting member of the royal commission which condemned Mesmerism, and from our vantage point Bailly's whole career makes him look quite soundly rationalist. The special value of this biography lies in its revelation of what happened in a single but representative person's life when he tried to move on from a position of intellectual prominence before the Revolution into one of leadership during it. As in the case of several others similarly destined (but not of all—Condorcet could blindly and courageously stick to his philosophic faith) it was doubly tragic, for it ended not only in death (an especially sadistic one for Bailly) but also in disillusionment, because Bailly saw how the precepts of the age of reason crumbled before the wild onslaught of the revolutionary surge toward blind action. As Malesherbes, who suffered a similar fate, said of himself and Turgot, "[we] were terribly honest men [but] we knew mankind only from books."

HENRY BERTRAM HILL, *University of Wisconsin*

MÉMOIRES DU PRINCE DE TALLEYRAND (ET CE QU'IL N'A PAS DIT). Edited by *Paul Léon*. Volume II, III. (Paris, Henri Javal, 1953, 1954, pp. 259, 238.) Continuing the republication of the Bacourt-Broglie version of the Talleyrand memoirs which he initiated last year (see *AHR*, April, 1954, p. 696), Professor Léon's two volumes cover the critical years 1809-1815. His introduction to each volume constitutes a detailed, systematic, and lucid outline which furnishes helpful direction and perspective. Introducing the two ecclesiastical commissions, Léon interprets them, à la Welschinger, as Napoleon's machinations for a new Gallican schism and resuscitated

Civil Constitutional Clergy. The new religious dispensation was to be realized by stealing the pope's temporal power along with his prerogatives in episcopal nominations, and by reducing the Roman pontiff, in forced exile, to the status of a French bishop. Serviceable and rigorously critical is M. Léon's explication of Talleyrand's interminably intricate and surreptitious negotiations with the allies, his years in the pay of Metternich, the role of Vitrolles and the second-string plotters, Talleyrand's unconscionable fidelity to the Bourbon cause, and his zeal for a constitutional compromise. An admirable outline of the preliminaries to Vienna and the politics and coalitions of the Congress is based on Lacour-Gayet in addition to a generous cross-section of contemporary memoirs, though the editor neglects revisions in the studies of Dupuis, Webster, and Srbik. M. Léon regrettably fails to compare the illuminating textual variations and differences, painstakingly effected by the duc de Broglie, in the form of italics and footnotes, between the Pallain compilation of the Louis XVIII-Talleyrand correspondence (published in 1881 from the transcripts of the Foreign Office) and the more complete and now "official" memoirs edition which reproduced Talleyrand's personal copy. While it is a laudable undertaking once again to make available the memoirs of one of modern history's most distinguished paladins, it is unfortunate that, in the absence of any critical edition, many of the annotative and explanatory devices in which an older edition excelled are not included.

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REPUBLICAN IDEAS AND THE LIBERAL TRADITION IN FRANCE, 1870-1914.

By *John A. Scott*. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, No. 573.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 209, \$3.00.) Mr. Scott's book is really two things. In the first place it is a well-written essay, distinguished for its ease and clarity, on the life (and death) of liberal Republicanism in modern France. Secondly, it is a series of more or less brief studies in the socio-political ideas of Charles Renouvier, Henri Marion, Henry Michel, Charles Secrétan, Emile Littré, Emile Faguet, Georges Clemenceau, Alfred Fouillé, and Léon Bourgeois. The underlying contention is that the eighteenth-century and Revolutionary background produced three types of Republican outlook: Girondist, Jacobin, and *sans-culotte*. Because this last variety dissolved in the nineteenth-century Marxist pudding, failed to assert itself dominantly before 1914, and never achieved homogeneity, it has been excluded from the present book. Babeuf and the neo-Babeuvists, considerably influential as they were, could be said to have shaped the Republican pattern after 1870 only indirectly, distantly. Thus, runs Mr. Scott's thesis, after three quarters of a century of emergent industrialism, anti-Republican reaction, and dynastic rule based on an oligarchy of wealth, the neo-Girondist Republicans came to power in 1876 believing in the rule of property and intelligence, in universal suffrage, anticlericalism, and the virtues of economic association. Running the gauntlet between Left and Right, the parliamentary neo-Girondists obviously departed from their more academic formulations and embraced the necessities of expediency, only to peter out in an economic conservatism which left the less arteriosclerotic political field to the neo-Jacobins. Opportunism having played itself out, the star of Radicalism arose, beckoning to the *petit bourgeois*, seeking to unite laissez-faire and social legislation, but condemned finally to shine either upon the propertied or upon the unpropertied and thus to see the proletariat move away. *Solidarité* might enjoy a certain vogue among intellectuals, might even lie behind the early social legislation of the Republic, but if indeed it "appeared to be firmly established as the official theory of the bourgeois Republic" in 1914, evidently the neo-Jacobins were no better equipped to deal with the social pressures of the two final decades of *la troisième* than the neo-Girondists might have been. Bourgeois

liberalism in France, as everywhere else, was dead, although miraculously still on its feet. With the possible exception of the section on Clemenceau, Mr. Scott's book is pretty much made up out of the standard printed sources, which he has combed with perception. One might wish for a number of things: just to take the work on Clemenceau again, that it had been possible to skip the familiar details of his life and political times, or that the irrelevant (and even questionable) judgment on his share of responsibility for 1914 had been omitted. But for the most part this study in ideas is admirable, and if some of the specific chapters smack a little of the graduate seminar paper, such defect as this may be is to be overlooked for the general excellence of the essay.

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SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke¹

DE MOTIVERING VAN DE GODSDIENSTVRIJHEID BIJ DIRCK VOLCKERTS-ZOON COORNHERT [English summary]. By *Hendrik Bongers*. (Arnhem, Van Loghum Slaterus, 1954?, pp. xxxiii, 150.) All that was really important on the subject of religious liberty was said by someone in the sixteenth century though not practiced on an extensive scale for another two or three hundred years. Among the advocates of freedom in the formative period none was more significant than Coornhert, partly because he lived in Holland in a period of intense struggle and partly because he was the heir of such champions of liberty as Erasmus, Castellio, and Acontius. Coornhert has received earlier treatment in a penetrating book by J. Kuehn, *Toleranz und Offenbarung*, in which he undertook to differentiate the positions of religious groups with regard to the theory of truth and freedom. The weakness of this book is that the individuals selected as representative were commonly made examples of but a single type, whereas each actually manifested a great variety. By this token Coornhert was assigned to the ethical and rational group, but Bongers rightly points out that in him one finds also spiritualistic and mystical strains. The present work is thoroughly conversant with the entire literature of the field. All the arguments in vogue among the liberals are surveyed and Coornhert's attitude toward each is discussed. He is placed in the company of those who relativized conscience by making it consist rather in sincere conviction than correct judgment. He believed in the freedom of the will and the determinism of the understanding. Since a man cannot think what he does not think, constraint can serve only to drive him to say what he does not believe. The spiritualist argument was used by Coornhert that faith is too intangible to be cut by the sword of the magistrate. On the mystical side, suffering rather than the infliction of suffering was deemed the mark of the true Christian. Economic and political arguments were used but seldom. All in all this is a thorough, discerning and enlightening book.

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ERASME DE ROTTERDAM ET LE SEPTIÈME SACRÉMENT. By *Emile V. Telle*. (Geneva, E. Droz, 1954, pp. 500.) Erasmus is represented in this work as more subversive of medieval Catholicism than was Luther. A remark of Melancthon is quoted with approval that had not Luther arisen to exert restraint, the consequences of Erasman liberalism would have been more dire. Erasmus anticipated Luther in attacking monastic vows, and the assault of the humanist was more drastic than that of the religious reformer because with Erasmus monasticism was an unwholesome way of life whereas the attack of Luther was based simply on his inability to find a warrant for monastic vows in the Bible. From the days of his earliest writing Erasmus waged guerrilla warfare against the monastic institution. The deviousness of his strategy has obscured the radicalism of his objectives. Luther attacked head-on, Erasmus by way of evasions, definitions, subtleties, retreats, with renewed attacks in the form of innuendo, jest, jibes, and rapier thrusts. The reader, obfuscated by his technique, may

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

easily miss his intent. His earliest composition, the *De contemptu mundi*, was not, as the title suggests, a praise of monasticism but rather an encomium of scholarly seclusion. The *Enchiridion*, ostensibly a manual of piety like the *Imitatio Christi*, was in reality a blending of Stoic, Epicurean, and Neoplatonic elements with incidental jibes at monastic exercises. The *Praise of Folly* was written in honor of a married layman. The letter to Servais was a disingenuous justification of refusal by Erasmus to fulfill his own monastic vows. This document marks a milestone in antimonastic literature. In the life of St. Jerome Erasmus idealized the monasticism of the fifth century and converted the saint into his own ideal of an itinerant research scholar. *The Annotations on the New Testament* applied all the invectives of the Gospels against scribes, Pharisees, and hypocrites to the monks. Conversely marriage was exalted. Curiously its sacramental character was denied because the essence of marriage was held to consist in the mutual affection of the partners. If this were lacking, no rite of the church could make them married; and if they had been united by a religious ceremony, they should be at liberty to dissolve the relationship. In other words divorce should be freely allowed. In that case marriage could not be a sacrament marked by a lifelong vow. By way of compensation marriage was credited with a power of blessing comparable to that of baptism. In all of this Erasmus was plainly closer to John Milton than to Martin Luther. Such is the thesis of a very learned book, which not only cites Erasmus *in extenso* but his opponents as well. The author is irritated by the methodology of Erasmus and delights to dwell upon his tergiversations. But however much Erasmus may have veered in his course or even distorted his authors, his own intent could scarcely be in doubt. He would abolish monasticism, abrogate clerical celibacy, rank virginity below matrimony, and exalt marriage as an ideal state for human kind.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

JAHRESBERICHTE FÜR DEUTSCHE GESCHICHTE. Neue Folge. 2. Jahrgang 1950. Edited by Fritz Hartung. (Berlin, Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1953, pp. xvi, 240.) Thanks to the initiative and energy of Albert Brackmann, then professor of medieval history at the University of Berlin, the first volume of the *Jahresberichte für Deutsche Geschichte* was published in 1927. Brackmann and Fritz Hartung jointly served as editors of this admirable bibliographical tool, until the war prevented its continuation. The last volume, published in 1942, covered the years 1939 and 1940. In 1947, the German Academy of Sciences with headquarters in the Soviet sector of Berlin assumed responsibility for the *Jahresberichte*, and the first volume of a new series (*Neue Folge*) appeared in 1952, listing publications of the year 1949. In contradistinction from previous practice, it did not include, in addition to the bibliography, the review articles (*Forschungsberichte*) formerly contributed by various scholarly collaborators. For the latter, references to book reviews and short indications of the contents of the works listed had to serve as an inadequate substitute. The second volume, almost three times the size of its predecessor and printed on much better paper, follows the same general plan. Edited by Fritz Hartung, who after the

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

death of Brackmann now serves as sole editor, it lists the literary production of the year 1950 including new editions and certain supplements for 1949, a total of 2,787 items. Difficulties in obtaining access to West German and foreign material are undoubtedly responsible for a number of omissions. To the Western scholar this bibliography is extremely valuable, for it lists a considerable number of publications in East European countries as well as doctoral dissertations available in typescript only and articles in regional and local historical periodicals that are not to be found in libraries outside Germany. It seems characteristic that material pertaining to German history in the post-World War II period has not been considered for inclusion in the bibliography.

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BISMARCK'S ARBEITERVERSICHERUNG: IHRE ENTSTEHUNG IN KRÄFTESPIEL DER ZEIT. By *Walter Vogel*. (Brunswick, Georg Westermann, 1951, pp. 192, DM 7.80.) This small volume is a welcome surprise. Part of it is based upon materials which have been unavailable for a decade. An official of the Reichsarchiv, the author began his research in 1941 on his own initiative, although with official support. During the next three years he used many documents which have since gone up in flames or vanished behind the iron curtain. His purpose was to discover what precedents, ideas, and influences determined the character of Bismarck's social insurance legislation. Valuable parts of the book are concerned with the roles played by important civil servants, such as Lohman and Bödiker, and by two of Bismarck's collaborators, Wagener and Bucher. Like other students of the problem, however, Vogel concludes that Bismarck was chiefly responsible for the insurance laws and that his purpose was political rather than social. He hoped to bind the laboring class to the monarchy by furthering their economic security. His concern for the less fortunate was stimulated by his sincere Christianity and patriarchal heritage; nevertheless, he had little genuine understanding of the lot of the new industrial proletariat. He opposed laws for reducing the work week, restricting child and feminine labor, and strengthening safety legislation and state inspection of mines and factories. Vogel suggests that his opposition to such benefits and his use of coercion against the socialists were probably responsible for his failure. It may be unfair, however, to attribute this opposition to Bismarck's personal financial interest as the owner of three small industries (p. 136). More fundamental was his lifelong distrust of bureaucratic regulation, a prejudice which he shared with most of the rural Junkers. Although the author has striven for objectivity, his personal bias is apparent. He is antipathetic toward liberalism and Marxian socialism but sympathetic toward "state socialism" and those conservatives interested in social reform. At two points his preferences lead him astray. It is incorrect to write of the Prussian "tradition of the welfare state" (p. 29) and of "the idea of state socialism" as including "socialization of the means of production" (p. 173). But these errors are isolated and do not mar the interpretation as a whole. Students of German history will be grateful for Vogel's persistence in research during difficult times.

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STRESEMANN AND THE REARMAMENT OF GERMANY. By *Hans W. Gatzke*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1954, pp. 132, \$3.00.) The popular image of Gustav Stresemann is that of a nationalist converted to internationalism who restored Germany's reputation for integrity, pursued a western rather than an eastern policy, and worked tirelessly for reconciliation with Germany's neighbors. This brief but solid monograph challenges this stereotype by examining one area of Stresemann's policies—the problem of disarmament under the Versailles Treaty, the clandestine activity of the Reichswehr authorities, and the Reichswehr-Red Army collaboration

during the years when Stresemann was foreign minister. Between the author's introduction and conclusion are four chapters. Three of these—"From Ruhr to Locarno," "The End of Military Control," and "The Reichswehr and Russia"—are altogether praiseworthy. The fourth chapter, entitled "Perfection of German Rearmament," implies more than it contains and much more than the German military authorities achieved prior to 1933. However, the author shows beyond dispute that Stresemann was privy to the clandestine activities of Seeckt and the Reichswehr, that he exerted his powers as a negotiator to conceal or excuse evasions of the disarmament clauses, that he had knowledge of military collaboration with Russia, and that he believed the restoration of German military power was essential to the pursuit of a positive foreign policy. In fact, he shows that Stresemann was more akin to Bismarck than to the popular image of the "good European." This revision of the Stresemann portrait is not presented in a "debunking" vein but judiciously and soberly in a work of sound scholarship based upon the Stresemann papers now available on microfilm in the National Archives. The author concludes that Stresemann was a great German statesman rather than the "honest dreamer of peace and apostle of reconciliation," which some uncritical admirers made him out to be. Future biographers of the Stresemann who directed German foreign policy from 1923 to 1929 will find this treatise indispensable in drawing a more realistic portrait of the Weimar Republic's best-known statesman.

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ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*¹

IL PROBLEMA ITALIANO ALLA VIGILIA DELLE RIFORME (1720-1738). By Guido Quazza. [Estratto dall'Annuario dell'Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea, Vol. V-VI, 1953-54.] (Rome, Istituto storico italiano, 1954, pp. 310.) For the past twelve years Guido Quazza has devoted himself to research in the field of Italian history from 1720 to 1740. He has already published several monographs on special aspects of the period. In this, his latest work, a collection of reprints from the *Annuario dell'Istituto storico italiano*, he attempts a composite picture of these two decades. The first part of the book analyzes the importance given to Italian affairs in the foreign policy of Austria, Spain, France, and Great Britain. The second half surveys the political, economic, and social characteristics of Italian society in the many

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

states of the peninsula. As can be seen, the plan of the book is an ambitious one. While there exist many studies on all phases of Italian life in the latter half of the eighteenth century, much remains to be done for the earlier years. The economic, political, social, and intellectual developments throughout Italy from the end of the War of the Spanish Succession to the conclusion of the War of the Polish Succession need further study and research. Professor Quazza tries to clarify the motives and persuasions of this not uncomplicated era in Italian history. Unfortunately, his book, replete with scholarly references, many from archival source material, fails in its purpose. It gives us many tantalizing insights into the fundamental problems of Italian life at this time, but these are brief and incomplete. The work that Professor Quazza started out to write still remains to be done. Perhaps if the author would throw away his notes and references and write from his vast accumulated knowledge of the period, discarding the inconsequential pedantries, we would have a valuable and truly informative work on the internal developments and the European importance of Italy in the 1720's and 1730's.

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Charles Morley

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SOVIET UNION

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PETER DER GROSSE: DER EINTRITT RUSSLANDS IN DIE NEUZEIT. By R. Wittram. [Verständliche Wissenschaft, Band LII.] (Berlin, Springer, 1954, pp. 151, DM 7.80.) The German series, "Verständliche Wissenschaft," heretofore devoted exclusively to natural science, has recently expanded its scope to embrace a wider range of studies including history. One of the first historical contributions under the new dispensation is this brief study of Peter the Great and his reign by Reinhold Wittram, professor at Göttingen and author of several works on the Baltic area. It is the laudable objective of the editor of the series to publish works that combine sound scholarship with readily understandable presentation. Professor Wittram's study is a worthy exemplar of these principles; one could scarcely wish for a better introduction to the subject. Organized along simple, straightforward lines, the work presents a wealth of material and yet strikes an admirable balance between factual detail and interpretation and generalization. To produce this brief survey, the author not only consulted virtually all works on the period but also delved into much of the printed primary source material. The latter efforts have imparted to the work a good deal of color and vitality. The specialist will find that the author's treatment, while gen-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

erally conventional, involves some novel and stimulating points of view. Professor Wittram contends—and buttresses his position with some persuasive evidence—that Peter, notwithstanding his lampooning of the hierarchy and his subordination of church to state, was a deeply religious man. Most provocative, although seemingly inconsistent with the foregoing, is the author's identification of the great tsar as a harbinger of the Enlightenment, a man of rationalistic bent who was influenced by contacts with Leibniz. The contradiction turns out to be more apparent than real, however, for, according to Wittram, Peter strove not to uproot and destroy religion but to ensure the triumph of reason over ignorance and superstition. If, in this praiseworthy endeavor, he secured only a partial victory, Peter's achievement must nevertheless be adjudged extraordinary, when one recalls that Joseph II of Austria, whose reform schemes were launched under seemingly more propitious circumstances, lived to see the wreck of all his best-laid plans.

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer¹

THE MIDDLE EAST: PROBLEM AREA IN WORLD POLITICS. By Halford L. Hoskins. (New York, Macmillan, 1954, pp. vi, 311, \$4.75.) The volume under review amply demonstrates the hazards of writing an analysis of the postwar international politics of the Middle East. Between the time of the book's appearance at the press and on the market, the settlements in Egypt and Iran had basically transformed the Middle East situation. Halford Hoskins wisely did not succumb to the lures of prediction, since the outcome of the two disputes could not have been determined until the agreements were actually signed and ratified. If the reader is therefore denied an appraisal of the latest instruments, he is nevertheless equipped with background data to make his own evaluation. For, despite the topical presentation, each problem is examined in its historical context. The dynamics of international politics in the contemporary Middle East—which Hoskins defines as embracing southwest Asia, Egypt, and the Sudan—derives largely from the region's location astride the principal intercontinental lines of communication by land, sea, and air, from the presence of half the world's proved oil resources, and from the great power rivalry to which both have given rise. Amid these tricky themes the author moves about freely and familiarly. The discussion of the issues relating to the Turkish Straits, the Suez Canal, the oil operations, and the strategic maneuvers of the Western Allies versus the Soviet Union is thus always informed and informative. Hoskins' competence diminishes substantially, however, when he turns to intraregional affairs. Neither penetrating nor persuasive is his analysis of domestic developments in Turkey and Iran, of Arab nationalism and the dynastic and interstate rivalries in the Arab East and of the irrepressible Arab-Israel tensions. Recurrent factual errors in the contemporary as well as historical evidence detract further from the value of the study, more especially since many—such as titles of U.N. or governmental agencies—are so easily verifiable. The narrative is also marred by the stylistic affliction that has come to be labeled "officialese." Still, the merits of the volume far outweigh the shortcomings, and the uninitiated should find most helpful the appended bibliographical essay.

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Far Eastern History

EASTERN ASIA

Hilary Conroy¹

CHINESE RAILWAYS AND BRITISH INTERESTS, 1898-1911. By *E-tu Zen Sun*. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1954, pp. viii, 230, \$4.00.) Here is a substantial study of a major theme in an important period in the development of modern China. In the years from the Battle of Concessions to the fall of the Manchus, "The railway came to be the meeting point of Chinese national aspirations and the politics of international equilibrium" (p. 6). The author identifies clearly and presents lucidly the chief factors in this situation. For China, railway building was a significant aspect of modernization, necessary to economic growth, military mobility, and increased strength in the face of Western pressure. It was one of the Western tricks which the Chinese must learn in order to escape Western domination. But could railways be built without the foreign loans which were means to China's enslavement? The author describes the roles of the Chinese gentry—capitalists, hostile to foreign loans but often unable to supply the necessary capital and managerial skill; the officials, notably Chang Chih-tung, who favored "merchant-official cooperation" but often regarded foreign loans as a necessity and tried to play one power against another; and the weak Manchu dynasty which, caught between the Chinese gentry and the foreign powers, underestimated the violence of nationalist sentiment which focused on the railway issue, and helped to bring on its own overthrow by the Hukuang loan contract and the railway nationalization edict of 1911. As to the development of British interests, we see Britain getting the lion's share of preliminary railway loan contracts in 1898 and following a trend toward co-operation with other interested powers as a means of preserving international equilibrium in regard to Chinese affairs. The body of the book consists of a series of chapters dealing with developments in various parts of China which reveal variations in local reactions and in British interests and policy. The author rests her account on carefully and scholarly use not only of works in Western languages but also of major Chinese sources, such as the papers of Chang Chih-tung.

MERIBETH E. CAMERON, *Mount Holyoke College*

REPORT FROM HOKKAIDO: THE REMAINS OF RUSSIAN CULTURE IN NORTHERN JAPAN. By *George Alexander Lensen*, Florida State University. (Hakodate, Japan, Municipal Library of Hakodate, 1954, pp. xv, 216.) The purpose of this book, according to its author, is to survey the remains of Russian culture in Hokkaido, particularly in Hakodate, and to make available a maximum number of related illustrations "so sadly lacking in histories of international relations in the Far East" (p. v). The book is divided into four parts, and while it begins with the first contacts between the Russians and Japanese at the end of the seventeenth century, the main emphasis is on the nineteenth. The subject is treated in narrative form. The book generally lacks analysis and interpretation and makes no effort to look beneath the surface and deal with the hard core of self-interest with respect to the relations of the two peoples. The volume contains no documentation although the bibliography has a fairly well selected list of publications and manuscripts from Japanese sources. In the sections of the book dealing with the contacts between the Japanese and the Russians before Japan made her first modern treaties in 1854 the author omits the important last attempt by the Russians (mission of Captain Lindenberg in 1852) to

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

open Japan to diplomacy and trade immediately before the first arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853. By this time the Russians were pushing against Sakhalin, the Kuriles, and even Hokkaido. The apprehension created by the Lindenberg mission and the Crimean War, which made itself felt in Japan by 1854, greatly affected the diplomatic, cultural, and intellectual developments which followed. These influences are almost entirely neglected by the author. In fact Mr. Lensen would have his readers believe that Japan was leaning strongly toward Russia at the time of Perry. He states: "there were those in Japan who thought to entrust their country's defense to Russia . . ." (p. 4). The author neglects to state who "those in Japan" were who took this position. In 1854 Japan had no thought of entrusting her defense to Russia, who at the time was losing the Crimean War to the English and French and could not defend her own position in the Pacific—let alone that of Japan. Mr. Lensen introduces subjects which he would be expected to treat in a study of this nature such as literature, language, history, diplomacy, commerce, and medicine. The author devotes too much space, however, to trite incidents and historical gossip. Probably the most important contribution of the book is the ninety-one illustrations, which present a wide range of reproductions. Some of the most significant are: "Pages from Vocabulary Attributed to Golovnin," "Title Page of the Goshkevich-Tachibana Dictionary," "Cover of Makhov's Primer," "Title Page of Glebov's Grammar and a Page from Maeda's *Senkyu Monzen*," and "Japanese Translations of Russian Literature." The subject of Russo-Japanese relations is an important one, and much historical research is still to be done. The author has stated that he has "collected a considerable amount of material in the form of manuscript copies and microfilms which he hopes to utilize in later years" (p. v). It is hoped that he will make good use of this material and produce a well-documented interpretative study in this significant field of cultural history.

PAUL E. ECKEL, *Washington, D. C.*

SUNK: THE STORY OF THE JAPANESE FLEET, 1941-1945. By *Mochitsura Hashimoto*, Former Submarine Commanding Officer, IJN. Translated by Commander *E. H. M. Colegrave*, RN (Retired). With an Introduction by Commander *Edward L. Beach*, USN. (New York, Henry Holt, 1954, pp. xi, 276, \$3.95.) This is a general account of the Japanese submarine fleet from the attack against Pearl Harbor until the end of the Pacific war in August, 1945. It is told by a former Japanese submarine commander whose chief bid to fame was the sinking of the U. S. cruiser *Indianapolis*. Tragedy and defeat stalk like gray ghosts through virtually every chapter with only a few scattered pages of glory in the entire text. Basically the volume is a serious criticism of the Japanese navy: its lack of sound submarine strategy; its inflexible attitude toward the prosecution of the war; its failure to appreciate submarine combat needs especially in the field of enemy detection; and its gross deficiencies in scientific knowledge. As a defeated but worthy foe the author deserves generous praise for his honest and forthright story. The English translation of the original Japanese is also excellent and a highly intelligent introduction launches the volume on an even keel. It is difficult to agree with the interpretation that the Japanese went to war with only one arrow in their bow. Japan had a powerful fleet in the Pacific on December 7, 1941, with naval aviation superior in punch to any other world power at the time. That the Japanese Empire did not have the technology and the resources to sustain a long war does not mean that Japan's initial thrusts were based only on the strength of a "bamboo lance" (p. vi). Several curious miscues appear in the narrative: the "coast" of Johnston island is anything but "mountainous" (p. 56) and Nomura, the Japanese ambassador in Washington, did not return to Japan "in a German submarine" (p. 74). The general ineffectiveness of Japanese submarines against the U. S.

Pacific Fleet speaks well for the latter's antisubmarine operations. This is one of the main reasons too why the present work is aptly entitled *Sunk*. Hashimoto's contribution should be read by students wishing to understand the Pacific war from the Japanese point of view.

GORDON W. PRANGE, *University of Maryland*

THE BRITISH IN ASIA. By *Guy Wint*. (Rev. ed.; New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1954, pp. 244, \$3.75.) This is the first American edition of a work originally published in 1947. Since the seven intervening years have given an opportunity for a reappraisal of British achievement in the light of the present, it is really a new work with the same title. Mr. Wint does not address himself to the specialist. Nevertheless, this is not a brief handbook of factual information for beginners. Though it provides essential data, it is primarily a thoughtful and reflective essay on the role of Britain and Russia in Asia in historical perspective. Its most valuable chapter is that on "British Oriental Civilization" where Mr. Wint attempts to describe and assess that blend of West with East represented in the educated and politically conscious minority of Asians who have succeeded to power in the former "colonial" Asia, especially the former British Indian Empire. This is an important effort; British and American readers to whom this book is addressed need to be continually reminded that this minority controls the destinies of much of Asia. Mr. Wint's discussion underlines the dangers to be expected if powerful segments within it follow either in the footsteps of the Kuomintang on the one hand or of the Communists (whether Russian or Chinese) on the other. Strangely enough, Mr. Wint's chapters do not reflect his work in China in the early thirties as much as might be expected. Perhaps this is because he did not break away entirely from the title of the first edition and plan this essay on broader lines. As it is, the book is unevenly organized into three parts—"British Empire" (131 pages), "Russian Empire" (22 pages), and "The Future" (90 pages)—with the pages on Russia insufficient to deal adequately with the subject. Especially in the later chapters, Mr. Wint seems to be writing more for the schoolboy than the intelligent layman. The main theme is here blurred by interrupting the narrative to supply factual background on Burma, Ceylon, and Malaya. The book is, however, a very useful one for general reader, teacher, and student alike. It is to be hoped that Mr. Wint will again sum up his reflections on this subject before another seven years have passed.

HOLDEN FURBER, *University of Pennsylvania*

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1937. In five volumes. Volume III, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 5453.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. 1008, \$4.25.) The documents published in this volume deal mainly with the undeclared war between China and Japan which broke out in July, 1937. One chapter is devoted to the period January to July, seven chapters to the second half of the year. American diplomats were, by and large, extremely well informed. Grew has reason to look back on his January 1 summary with some satisfaction. He points out that Japan's aggressive policies in China will be a disturbing issue—"there is no doubt that whether quietly and gradually or openly and aggressively Japanese energies will be found, from now on, steadily directed towards consolidating Japan's control in North China and Mongolia." A good deal was known or assumed about the close connection between China's Communists and Moscow. Joseph E. Davies referred, in February, 1937, to Soviet influence over Chinese Communist armies, to the Soviet role in the Sian crisis, and to Soviet concern that China should be strong enough to threaten the southern flank of the Kwantung army. Ambassador Johnson accurately analyzed Chiang Kai-shek's dilemma after Sian—whether to accept help from the Communists against

Japan or whether to break his pledges and attack them. Johnson reports in December that the Russians tried to make their assistance conditional on admission of the Chinese Communist party into the government and the elimination of all officials suspected of being in favor of a negotiated peace. Chinese disappointment at the failure of the British and American governments to co-operate in restraint of Japan is very clear, as are also the efforts of the Germans to bring about a settlement. Chiang Kai-shek emerges as a man at the height of his powers, especially as a statesman. These documents must be used together with the earlier volume on foreign relations, *Japan, 1931-41*, with the material from the war crimes hearings in Tokyo, and from the MacArthur and other hearings in Washington in order to get the full picture.

GEORGE E. TAYLOR, *University of Washington*

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SOUTHERN ASIA

Cecil Hobbs¹

SOUTHEAST ASIA: A SHORT HISTORY. By Brian Harrison, Professor of History in the University of Hong Kong. (London, Macmillan and Company; New York, St. Martin's Press, 1954, pp. xi, 268, \$3.50.) To seek to compress into a text of some 260 pages the complex and tangled history of the peoples of Southeast Asia from the earliest times to the present is a task of no small dimensions. Brian Harrison, professor of history in the University of Hong Kong and formerly senior lecturer in the University of Malaya, has made a valiant attempt and has succeeded in considerable measure; but there must still remain some doubt as to whether it can really be done. The time span to be covered is immense, and since, as the author states at the outset, the area "forms neither a political nor a cultural entity," it is necessary to deal with a highly diffuse and amorphous array of materials. Although the book is written in an attractively readable style and is little encumbered with the customary scholarly ap-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

paratus, its pages are inevitably crowded with the names of countries and places, peoples and personages, introduced too briefly for the specialist and too profusely, it is to be feared, for the general reader for whom it is primarily intended. In so far as there is a general unifying theme it is to be found in Professor Harrison's well-justified contention that Southeast Asia is a crossroads which has always been peculiarly exposed to external influences, on the whole playing a passive role in history as different cultures and civilizations have impinged upon it from outside. The first quarter of the book deals with the early relations of the peoples among themselves and the influence on them of China, India, and Islam; the rest of the book is concerned with the coming of the West, the imperial rivalries of the powers, and the reaction and response of the peoples to the European economic, political, and cultural systems which were thrust upon them. In a brief but suggestive chapter on the growth of nationalism the author suggests that the current revolt of Southeast Asia against Western rule involves also a revolt against its own past which he sees as likely to be the most rapid and most far-reaching of the long series of revolutions which the external world has brought forth in the area. The book is equipped with several useful maps as well as a brief list of books for further reading.

RUPERT EMERSON, *Harvard University*

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

AMERICAN HEROES: MYTH AND REALITY. By *Marshall W. Fishwick*. Introduction by Carl Carmer. (Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1954, pp. viii, 242, \$3.75.) This volume adds to the long shelf of books on the hero, but whether it adds substantially to our knowledge of the subject is another question. Sidney Hook, Leo Gurko, Lord Raglan, and Dixon Wecter have all touched this theme before, and Wecter's *The Hero in America*, a prototype of this book, is not only more sober but more substantial. Both Fishwick and Wecter pay their respects to Captain John Smith, George Washington, Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, Robert E. Lee, Buffalo Bill, and Henry Ford, but Fishwick slights or ignores a goodly company of Wecter heroes, among them Franklin, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Grant, Bryan, Lindbergh, and the two Roosevelts. He has favorites of his own, such as Douglas Fairbanks and Mickey Mouse, but they scarcely tip the balance in his favor. Not that Wecter is superior in every respect. Fishwick has a better appreciation of the synthetic quality of folk heroes like Paul Bunyan and does bring the hero-makers into sharper focus. But even here he is not the first to establish Washington's debt to Parson Weems or Buffalo Bill's to Ned Buntline. Professor Fishwick is no narrow, dry-as-dust historian. His interests extend to history, politics, literature, folklore, even motion pictures, which helps explain the eclectic quality of this book. Its eclecticism is not fully revealed, however, for the skimpy footnotes and bibliography tell very little about the sources actually used. The author is more a synthesizer than a grubber after facts, more a creative writer than a compiler of research reports. He does not feel bound by the methods of any discipline, certainly not those of scientific history. "As to the line between truth and fancy in all this business: let the one who really knows where it is stake out the boundary." He is a clever, though sometimes flippant phrasemaker, and a master of anecdote; these elements take the place of a well-defined thesis and provide the cement that holds the book together. Despite its limitations the book will probably serve, as Carl Carmer wrote in the introduction, "to introduce to the general reading public a writer whose mind teems with challenging ideas and whose prose has compelling interest."

IRVIN G. WYLLIE, *University of Missouri*

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND A RISING PEOPLE. By *Verner W. Crane*. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1954, pp. x, 219, \$3.00.) Ever since the publication of Crane's *Benjamin Franklin, Englishman and American* (1936), there has been hope of a general biography of Franklin from his pen. Although Crane has specialized in Franklin's activities as statesman and diplomatist, and is known for his masterful studies of Franklin in relation to the Stamp Act and of Franklin's letters to the press in England from 1758 to 1775, he shows himself in this book a master of all the different aspects of Franklin's varied career. There are

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

excellent chapters on Franklin's boyhood and young manhood in Boston and Philadelphia and an exemplary discussion of Franklin as a natural philosopher. Crane lays great stress on two points concerning Franklin: (1) that "only in certain of his philosophical writings can we see his mind at full stretch," and (2) that in politics "which in one way or another absorbed most of his energies through most of his life, he produced no Franklinian system." In politics Franklin passed on to succeeding generations, in place of a system, "the empirical method which American leaders have generally adopted." Crane wisely draws a distinction between Franklin's experiments in politics and in natural philosophy, pointing out that Franklin well recognized the difference between scientific hypotheses or theories susceptible of a laboratory test and shrewd guesses that must be made in the realm of human affairs "where only future experience can determine their wisdom." All accounts of Franklin, such as this one, are indebted to the late Carl Van Doren's *Benjamin Franklin* (1938), which still remains the standard full-length work. Yet for the serious student, who has not time to read Van Doren's large work and who wishes more than Carl Becker's miniature masterpiece (*Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, separately reprinted by the Cornell University Press), Crane's book will be especially valuable. It presents a reliable, informative, well-balanced, and interesting portrait of Benjamin Franklin—himself almost more Englishman than American, and a citizen of the world—who was, perhaps despite himself, one of the foremost molders of so many American traditions.

I. BERNARD COHEN, *Harvard University*

THE STORY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. By *Dumas Malone*. Pictures by *Hirst Milhollen* and *Milton Kaplan*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. 282, \$10.00.) *The Story of the Declaration of Independence*, offering brief texts concerning the coming of the Revolution, the making and meaning of the Declaration, and the lives of the signers, together with 267 illustrations, is a very handsome volume not easily classified. It is not directed toward scholars, for the authors do not pretend that it conveys truths not hitherto considered evident. It is not quite a "picture book," since the texts are far more than mere captions—on the average it contains one illustration per page. Much space is devoted to portraits of and particulars concerning the signers and their families, but the term "mug book" is obviously inappropriate. In whatever category it may be placed, *The Story of the Declaration of Independence* is a splendid piece of bookmaking. The illustrations are well chosen and representative. The very difficult task of securing attractive reproductions of eighteenth-century prints, portraits, and documents has been superbly executed. In form the book is entirely pleasing. The text is not quite so uniformly satisfactory. This reviewer admires the sections concerning the making and meaning of the Declaration. Though they are a trifle mechanical, the biographies of the signers seem sound enough, in spite of the fact that Franklin is given two illegitimate children instead of the customary one. The reviewer is, however, puzzled by the presence of a number of "howlers" and dubious statements in that part of the book dealing with the beginnings of the Revolution, these in a book bearing the name of the justly distinguished scholar, Dumas Malone. Thus, George Grenville is referred to as "Chancellor of the Exchequer" in connection with the Sugar Act of 1764, and that act is described as nominally a "trade measure" (p. 16) in spite of a positive declaration to the contrary in its preamble; lawyers Adams and Quincy are credited with securing the acquittal of Captain Preston after the Boston Massacre (p. 24), their colleague Auchmuty being ignored, even though Preston tells us Auchmuty was his most effective defender; and the old, fascinating, and never substantiated story that the seizure of the persons of Samuel Adams and John Hancock was a British objective on

April 19, 1775, reappears (p. 42). Too much should not be made of such matters; Shakespeare wrote some poor poetry. It may be predicted that *The Story of the Declaration of Independence* will appeal to the public. It deserves popularity, for it is far superior to somewhat similar volumes which have appeared in the past.

JOHN R. ALDEN, *University of Nebraska*

JEFFERSONIAN AMERICA: NOTES ON THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA COLLECTED IN THE YEARS 1805-6-7 AND 11-12 BY SIR AUGUSTUS JOHN FOSTER, BART. Edited with an Introduction by *Richard Beale Davis*. (San Marino, Calif., Huntington Library, 1954, pp. xx, 356, \$6.00.) At the age of twenty-four, Augustus John Foster became secretary to the British legation in Washington. He served in that capacity from 1805 to 1807 and in 1811 returned as minister, remaining until war was declared in 1812. During these years his lot was hardly a happy one, but time softened animosities, and by 1833 he had decided that he could present a more accurate picture of the United States than that portrayed by recent British travelers. Using notebooks and journals prepared on the scene, he set to work and completed his manuscript in 1839. In 1841 the *Quarterly Review* printed excerpts from the work. Though Foster soon made a thorough revision of the text, it was never published. The original draft is now in the Huntington Library and the revision in the Library of Congress, which repositories possess also some of the materials upon which the author based his account. In preparing this first edition, Professor Davis has collated the two above-mentioned versions. Foster had far more reason than did Mrs. Trollope or Basil Hall to dislike the United States, but he made a conscious effort to be fair-minded and objective. Though he was entirely conservative in all things, he was neither bigot nor snob but a highly educated young aristocrat. He blamed the Revolution more upon British blunders than American perversity, nor did he seem to feel any lasting bitterness concerning the War of 1812. He was understandably partial toward Federalists and gentlemen—terms which he considered practically synonymous—and looked upon most Republicans, including Jefferson himself, as demagogues or bores. He usually spoke well of "the old English stock" in America, but hated Irish refugees and the Pennsylvania Dutch. Yet it is not his prejudices, but the light which he throws upon the American scene that is of real interest, for he was a keen and well-informed observer. He knew much of botany and had a discriminating interest in linguistics, architecture, art, and Indian lore. He loved that which was civilized and stable, and hated the dark forest and the frontier. Emergent America was to him a closed book. Professor Davis has rendered valuable service in making this work available and has performed his editorial duties with scrupulous care. Not only has he identified even the most obscure persons mentioned, but in his introduction and the footnotes has, by dint of meticulous research, answered all pertinent historical questions that arose. This intimate view of our early republic, especially that of the sprawling infant that was the capital city, should appeal to a wide circle of readers.

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY, *University of Virginia*

BARTON WARREN STONE: EARLY AMERICAN ADVOCATE OF CHRISTIAN UNITY. By *William Garrett West*. (Nashville, Tenn., Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1954, pp. xvi, 245, \$4.00.) Written with objectivity and restraint, this expanded Yale doctoral dissertation will do much to restore Barton W. Stone to his rightful place in the religious history of the American frontier. Historians have long known Stone as an evangelist in the Great Revival that rocked the over-mountain settlements during the early nineteenth century, as a rebel against orthodox Presbyterianism, and as a participant in the welter of theological conflict from which emerged the Disciples

of Christ and the Churches of Christ. They have failed, however, to assign him a sufficiently significant role in the early ecumenical movement and have underestimated his importance as a founder of the two sects that trace their origin to his efforts. These distortions are corrected by Dr. West's well-documented monograph. Handicapped by a lack of manuscript materials bearing on Stone's life, he has made excellent use of the contemporary religious press, and has searched dozens of libraries for obscure items relating to his subject. These he has pieced together to reveal a new Barton W. Stone—one to whom "Christian unity was the dominant passion," and who dedicated his life to uniting all churches on the basis of their common love of Christ, rather than on the basis of doctrinal uniformity. That he failed, or that the sects which he helped found have themselves become rigidly denominational, cannot detract from his importance as a pioneer in the ecumenical movement which found recent expression in the Evanston meeting of the World Council of Churches. Dr. West, a pastor of the First Christian Church of Chattanooga, tells his story with an objectivity not usually connected with authors so close to their subjects, nor does his concern with Barton W. Stone blind him to the importance of the national scene. Sufficient tribute to his impartiality is the fact that he elevates Stone to a position of importance among the founders of the Disciples of Christ without detracting from the glory of Alexander Campbell, who has formerly been assigned the major role. The book is solidly documented, and contains a full bibliography.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON, *Northwestern University*

A COMMONER'S JUDGE: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CHARLES PATRICK DALY. By *Harold Earl Hammond*. With an Introduction by Allan Nevins. (Boston, Christopher Publishing House, 1954, pp. 456, \$5.00.)

A COUNTY JUDGE IN ARCADY: SELECTED PRIVATE PAPERS OF CHARLES FERNALD, PIONEER CALIFORNIA JURIST. With an Introduction and Notes by *Cameron Rogers*. (Glendale, Calif., Arthur H. Clark, 1954, pp. 268, \$7.00.) A familiar figure in the history of every community is the judge. His career is usually sober and routine—with perhaps an occasional spectacular deviation. His importance in the daily functioning of an orderly society is generally recognized, but his more enduring significance is hard to evaluate because it depends upon the worth of his modest contributions to the whole complex fabric of the American legal tradition. To contemporaries, he is frequently better known for his civic leadership, political activities, or leisure-time scholarship than for his professional accomplishments. As a rule, he merits a long, laudatory obituary when he dies, and then passes quickly into oblivion. Such a man was Charles Patrick Daly, judge of the court of common pleas in New York City from 1844 to 1885. Daly's lifetime of honorable service upon the bench and his undeniable influence upon the development of the New York judicial system might not have attracted the attention of a biographer if he had not also been a man of versatile talents and fascinating avocations. Not that Mr. Hammond has neglected Daly's important cases, such as the trial of the Astor Place rioters in 1849, but a very large part of his book is devoted to the judge's activities as politician, lecturer, geographer, historian, sponsor of countless worthy causes, and trusted friend and adviser to a host of statesmen, generals, scientists, and men of letters. Mr. Hammond's book, based upon his doctoral dissertation, contains some of the faults and most of the virtues that one expects in such works. There is sound scholarship, thorough documentation, and a style which is straightforward and clear, if undistinguished. The treatment of Judge Daly is justifiably sympathetic but not uncritical. Minor errors of the typographical sort are not infrequent ("James" Greenleaf Whittier,

"Willard" Fillmore), and an unfortunate habit of identifying many persons by their last names alone is in some cases carried into the index. But the larger fault lies in the author's reluctance to omit any detail. Fact is piled upon fact, name upon name, until the main thread of the story is often lost in a mass of disjointed trivia. A shorter biography might have been a better one. Still, Mr. Hammond has performed a most valuable service by his careful reconstruction of a significant career. Charles Fernald, whose papers have been selected and edited by his grandson, Cameron Rogers, is a person of less consequence than Daly but one who played in his smaller world a somewhat similar role. Fernald was briefly sheriff, and then for eight years county judge in Santa Barbara, California, during the state's most turbulent decade, the 1850's. At thirty-one, he retired to private practice and a life of community leadership. Most of this beautifully printed volume is devoted to the period of his public service. The transcontinental correspondence with his wife between 1860 and 1862 throws some light upon West Coast attitudes toward the Civil War, but the collection will chiefly interest students of Southern California history.

DON E. FEHRENBACHER, *Stanford University*

THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By *Stefan Lorant*. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1954, pp. 256, \$3.50.) We seem to be in now for a run of one-volume biographies of Lincoln. For thirty years, from 1922 to 1952, few one-volume lives appeared, and of those that did not one was a good book. Then in 1952 Benjamin P. Thomas' fine biography hit the best-selling lists. This year Carl Sandburg's single-volume condensation of his previous six-volume masterpiece came out and also became a best-seller. Now we have Mr. Lorant's book, and there are probably more in the offing. Stefan Lorant came to this country in 1940 and plunged immediately into research in the Lincoln field. He was chiefly interested in the medium of picture-biography—the recording of a man's life through photographs with attached captions. Two of his previous Lincoln books were pictorial biographies. In the process of his work he discovered several new Lincoln pictures and corrected some erroneous information about existing pictures. Although the volume under review contains 180 photographs, facsimiles, and drawings, it is not a picture-book but an orthodox biography. It is the Lincoln story told in brief space—and told well and with few mistakes. For the person seeking an introduction to Lincoln, for the busy reader who has to get Lincoln, so to speak, on the run, this is the book. Mr. Thomas' biography has been described as the best one-volume life of Lincoln. Mr. Lorant's may be termed the best short one-volume life.

T. HARRY WILLIAMS, *Louisiana State University*

BOHEMIAN BRIGADE: CIVIL WAR NEWSMEN IN ACTION. By *Louis M. Starr*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1954, pp. xvii, 367, xix, \$5.00.) More comprehensive and somewhat less cohesive than Bernard Weisburger's *Reporters for the Union*, this story of the war correspondents brings to light and to life a host of young, hard-working, hard-drinking, devil-may-care, self-designated "Bohemians" who "reported" the Civil War for Northern newspapers. It is at once a tale of adventure and a serious discussion of new factors which were entering into American life. The reporters represented a new aspect of a developing journalism, and they won, over the protests of harassed generals and the inept censorship of Washington officialdom, the "right to report." In a democratic war, the right of the people to know what was happening was vital, and in the end the reporters made their contribution to a new nationalism. "No people were ever more tightly bound by a sense of shared experience than the millions who read the dispatches," says the author. Although primarily interested in the reporters who "covered" the camps and the battlefields—

and neglecting, even underemphasizing, the political arena—Mr. Starr maintains a nice balance between his accounts of the correspondents in the field and the managing editors in New York. Unfortunately, his story is too largely concerned with New York papers and with the military events along the Potomac. The press in the hinterland and the war in the West may be entitled to more attention than they here receive.

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE, *University of Wisconsin*

GRIERSON'S RAID: A CAVALRY ADVENTURE OF THE CIVIL WAR. By D. Alexander Brown. (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1954, pp. 261, \$4.00.) On April 17, 1863, Colonel Benjamin H. Grierson, a professor of music turned into a reluctant cavalryman, left LaGrange, Tennessee, for a diversionary raid into Mississippi. The ultimate destination of the brigade was unknown; the purpose was to destroy Confederate supplies and communications, particularly railroads, and to divert attention from Grant's impending Vicksburg campaign. Sixteen days and six hundred miles later the major portion of the command joined the Union forces in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. It had crossed the state of Mississippi, and, according to Grierson's report, had killed and wounded about one hundred of the enemy, captured and paroled over five hundred prisoners, destroyed some fifty miles of railroad and telegraph lines and "over 3000 stand of arms, and other army stores and Government property to an immense amount." Grierson's losses were negligible. The author, a librarian at the University of Illinois, has made skillful use of unusually interesting source materials, and, in a rather lightly documented narrative, has told a graphic story of military adventure. More importantly, he has made evident the confusion within the Confederate command, the apathetic attitude of much of the civilian population, and the importance of the raid with respect to the Vicksburg campaign. He has proved himself a dexterous writer in keeping clearly before the reader the several phases of a venture marked by unexpected turns and no little luck. This book bids fair to become a minor classic of its kind. ROBERT H. WOODY, *Duke University*

CONFEDERATE FINANCE. By Richard Cecil Todd. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1954, pp. x, 258, \$5.00.) As to the conduct of Confederate finance, I am disposed to agree with Mr. Todd that "it is questionable whether any other Secretary of the Treasury [than Christopher G. Memminger] would have handled the finances in any vastly different or more successful manner" (p. 2). Jefferson Davis seems to have paid little attention to finances and although Memminger had good ideas he could not persuade Congress to adopt the most essential of them. The situation was desperate to start with, because of the weak financial position of the South in 1861, its dependence on credit and on maintaining European markets for its staples, and its scarcity of specie, subjects which I wish Mr. Todd had investigated. The most serious mistake which the Confederate government made in handling its finances was to wait until two years had passed before enacting what Mr. Todd calls "the first real tax act of the war" (p. 136)—the tax in kind. Forced to rely mainly on bond issues and treasury notes, Memminger found his difficulties insurmountable. His most interesting expedient was the produce loans by which moneyless planters could buy bonds with cotton, tobacco, and sugar. Only in the last year of the war did the government adopt the new plan of Colin McRae, which brought order and common sense in the purchase of supplies in Europe and in regulating the blockade-running activities for the public interest. Mr. Todd has written a good factual account of Confederate finances, using the rich sources in the National Archives in a careful and scholarly manner. Although he ventures few generalizations, he answers many significant questions of fact in this valuable study.

CLEMENT EATON, *University of Kentucky*

STEPHEN R. MALLORY: CONFEDERATE NAVY CHIEF. By *Joseph T. Durkin, S.J.* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1954, pp. xi, 446, \$6.00.) Here is the first published biography of the secretary of the Confederate navy. Though it would be rash to say that it is definitive in the much-abused use of that word, yet it brings to life a man who has long been neglected or mentioned only to be relegated to a minor position among the Confederate statesmen. There will likely be some to dispute the expert judgment of the late Douglas Southall Freeman that Mallory was the ablest man in Davis' cabinet with the possible exception of Judah P. Benjamin, and it should be stated that Father Durkin does not argue the point. This is not simply a study of Mallory as secretary of the navy; it is also a full-length biography of him from his birth in Trinidad, his long residence in Key West, his career in the United States Senate, his imprisonment after the war, and his short span of life following. It is informal in style, though clearly and interestingly written; it is discursive up and down many inviting pathways with much background interwoven; it is quite personal and intimate in his family affairs. The great mass of information that Father Durkin assembled and used, sometimes not too well organized, has pushed the limits of his book far beyond what a more formal account would have called for. But there is a place for both kinds of treatments, and Father Durkin chose to present all. As the author says, Mallory's place in history must be set by his service as secretary of the navy, and, judged by that standard, his place should by no means be inconspicuous and inconsequential. Knowing that he could never build a navy equal to the Federal fleet he had the vision and daring to center his attention early on a new weapon of warfare—the ironclad warship; and it was Mallory who produced the first one ever to engage in active combat. It revolutionized the navies of the world. He also devised other novel weapons, such as torpedoes (the most effective arm the Confederate navy used), mines, and submarines. An immense amount of research went into this book, as is attested by the heavy documentation on almost every page and the eighteen pages of a critical bibliography. A great many of his manuscript sources have never before been used, especially important being Mallory's diary and letter book.

E. MERTON COULTER, *University of Georgia*

SUSAN B. ANTHONY: HER PERSONAL HISTORY AND HER ERA. By *Katharine Anthony.* (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1954, pp. x, 521, \$6.00.) This objective study of Susan B. Anthony is the first full-length biography of the famous suffragist to appear since that of Mrs. Harper written during Miss Anthony's latter years and under her personal supervision. With the perspective of a half century to help her and the biographies of several of Susan B.'s close associates, Miss Katharine Anthony (who claims no kinship to her subject) has been able to bring many of the controversies which troubled the woman's rights movement into clearer focus. Unfortunately the destruction of the private letters and most of the diaries by Mrs. Harper after the completion of her three volumes has greatly hindered the work of her successor. We can understand the impulses which would have prompted the destruction of papers dealing with the long and bitter division between Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony on the one hand and the Lucy Stone Blackwell faction on the other, for both Mrs. Harper and Miss Anthony were more interested by 1900 in preserving the newly achieved unity than in settling old accounts. Unfortunately the destruction went much farther and was so nearly complete that it left interested biographers chiefly dependent on Mrs. Harper's account. Miss Katharine Anthony has made good use of the relevant documents in other surviving collections, notably the Quaker archives, and has achieved a fuller account of her girlhood years, but even with an occasional speculation concerning the meaning of Susan's dreams and the nature of

her inner thoughts at critical moments her present biographer fails to soften the starchy record of events in which she clothed herself. But if this volume falls short of its goal of restoring the warm flush of life to Miss Anthony's heroic career, it presents an admirable survey of the forces and circumstances which surrounded her and recaptures some of the drama, the courage, the perseverance in face of tedium, and the vast dimensions of the parish tended by these earnest ladies, as well as the significance of their work. Scholars will still turn to Mrs. Harper's volumes for fuller documentary detail on the woman's rights movement, but this new biography will better serve the general reader.

BLAKE McKELVEY, *Rochester, N.Y.*

A HALF YEAR IN THE NEW WORLD: MISCELLANEOUS SKETCHES OF TRAVEL IN THE UNITED STATES (1888). By *Alexandra Gripenberg*. Translated and Edited by *Ernest J. Moyné*. [University of Delaware Monograph Series, No. 4.] (Newark, Del., University of Delaware Press, 1954, pp. xv, 225.) This account by Baroness Alexandra Gripenberg of Finland appeared simultaneously in Swedish and Finnish editions in Helsinki in 1889. Both editions were used by Mr. Moyné in preparing this translation. The nineteenth century saw hundreds of "America" books, many of which are excellent historical sources. Few, if any, can be compared with de Tocqueville's description of America, but there were many foreign visitors who possessed great powers of observation and an ability to judge the American scene both critically and sympathetically. Mr. Moyné believes that Alexandra Gripenberg's book compares favorably with Fredrika Bremer's *The Homes of the New World*. The reviewer does not share this opinion. Both women were leading Scandinavian feminists, but Alexandra Gripenberg was not so gracious, charming, and lively as Fredrika Bremer, nor did she possess a similar literary ability, though she claimed to be a novelist. And, while her story is entertaining and perhaps even instructive, she was more of a feminist, a reformer, and an avid nationalist. The two women's greatest difference appears in their attitude toward the immigrants: Fredrika Bremer's account is touchingly sympathetic, while the baroness is unjustly harsh and critical of her countrymen in America. As a delegate to the First International Council of Women in Washington, D.C., where she met the leading suffragettes, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, Alexandra Gripenberg was interested in learning more about America in order to make Finland a better place in which to live so that few would wish to leave it. She felt that Finland needed to be brought into closer contact with the great humanitarian forces which were transforming the Western world, particularly the movement for woman's rights. The council met in a setting of growing nationalism, which might have influenced the baroness in her unkind criticism of the immigrants. Most immigrants were men and were, it was thought, the easy and unwitting tools of unscrupulous machine politicians. If women were given the right to vote, however, the nativist vote would be strengthened and the influence of the immigrant-supported politicians counteracted. Alexandra Gripenberg's account of her visit to America is of importance chiefly to the student of the feminist movement and those occupied with the problem of the American impact upon western Europe.

O. FRITIOF ANDER, *Augustana College*

THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY OF SAGAMORE HILL. By *Hermann Hagedorn*. (New York, Macmillan, 1954, pp. 435, \$5.00.) "At Sagamore Hill," wrote Theodore Roosevelt in his *Autobiography*, "we love a great many things—birds and trees and books, and all things beautiful, and horses and rifles, and children and hard work and the joy of life." In his sympathetic account, *The Roosevelt Family of Sagamore Hill*, Hermann Hagedorn admirably elaborates on this theme. The focus remains on T. R.,

but it is T. R. at home with his family. Except in the last part of the book, politicians and statesmen intrude only when they too come to Sagamore; national issues and party problems only when the President and party leader is at home in Oyster Bay. So the historian will find little history. Nor will the biographer learn much that is new; for Mr. Hagedorn does not attempt to probe far below the surface to explain T. R.'s complex motives, the cool enigma of Edith Roosevelt and the differing personalities of their children. The reader will, however, gain an insight into the reason why Roosevelt was the most popular political figure of his day and why, also, in later years his reputation declined. The children, the family unity, the outdoor life, the hard work, the hard play, the optimism, the morality, simplicity, and joy of life—these all symbolized to the voters of the early twentieth century the best attributes of American life. Yet these same attributes appeared naive and immature to many Americans in the 1920's and hollow and unreal to even more in the 1930's. The author, himself little touched by these later attitudes, has done much to recapture T. R.'s forgotten appeal. Hagedorn's book is at its best when T. R. is at his best; and at its poorest when T. R. is at his worst. Nearly all of the last quarter of the book is devoted to Roosevelt's incessant and increasingly irresponsible attacks on the Wilson administration. Roosevelt's charges were rarely constructive. Although in power few men more realistically analyzed situations and struck the essential compromises, out of power, T. R. appears to have done neither. Nor, in writing of the years after 1914, does Mr. Hagedorn attempt to appraise realistically Wilson's problems. For him Roosevelt is almost always right, Wilson always wrong, and the issues hardly worth close attention. But this ardent defense of the ex-President, which often carries Hagedorn far from Sagamore Hill and the Roosevelt family, is only a minor flaw in this charmingly written, highly readable book.

ALFRED D. CHANDLER, JR., *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

THE UNITED STATES IN A CHANGING WORLD: AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. By *James P. Warburg*. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1954, pp. xv, 496, \$5.75.) Here is the twenty-first book which, in addition to uncounted articles and pamphlets, has come from the pen of James P. Warburg, banker, one-time economic adviser to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and deputy director of the O.W.I. in charge of propaganda in the European theater during World War II. In the preface to the present volume Mr. Warburg apologizes for having "ventured beyond the limits of conscientious scholarship" by treating very recent events. Historians should be thankful to him for rushing in where most of them fear to tread. In the first four hundred pages he makes a praiseworthy attempt to integrate earlier American domestic and diplomatic history in a readable narrative with running commentary, though he mars his account in places by adopting dubious interpretations. He says, for example, that the Jacksonians in the struggle against the Bank abandoned their belief in *laissez faire*, and he argues that President Wilson should have justified American intervention in World War I on the basis that "the acquisition of a Pacific empire had made the United States dependent upon a British alliance"! In his last hundred pages Mr. Warburg pioneers an interpretive and critical synthesis of events since World War II. He explains the postwar crisis as due to "two outstanding facts": first, the change in the "*distribution of power*" through the "transference of the seat of Western power from Western Europe to the United States" and the change in the "*nature of power*" through the "invention of atomic weapons of mass destruction"; second, the stirrings of a "world-wide revolution," resulting not primarily from the Communist conspiracy but from "the material progress of Western civilization," which in various ways has aroused the "underprivileged two-thirds of

humanity." Instead of facing these facts, it is Mr. Warburg's belief, President Truman and other American policy makers adopted a "devil-theory of the world crisis," putting all the blame on the Soviet Union. By concentrating on the negative aim of containment, they missed their opportunity to lead the revolutionary forces in the world and to advance toward resolving the crisis. Thus Mr. Warburg, and though every school of historians may disagree with one or another of his statements, all who are interested in a refreshingly rational approach to the last decade of diplomatic history will profit from his book.

RICHARD N. CURRENT, *University of Illinois*

AMBASSADORS IN ARMS: THE STORY OF HAWAII'S 100TH BATTALION. By *Thomas D. Murphy*. (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1954, pp. 315, \$6.00.) The history of any military unit, when thoughtfully considered, may be a fascinating story of the intricate backgrounds of American citizens and their adjustment to the ways of war. Few units of World War II, however, offer a more promising subject than the 100th Infantry Battalion, composed of Americans of Japanese ancestry from Hawaii. Its men left an island where their relatives were under suspicion as potential supporters of imperial Japan; the first third of the present work gives a clear analysis of the complicated position of the Japanese in Hawaii down through the attack on Pearl Harbor. The men of the battalion "were largely motivated by a desire to prove their own devotion to the nation and its ideals." This aim they superbly accomplished through their part in the Italian and French campaigns, which Murphy describes a little mechanically but competently; from their training days onward they won an enviable reputation among civilians and GI's alike. The significance of their history lies mainly in the fine pictures of the attitude of the men toward their difficult position and of the treatment of the Nisei by the Army. Even in Hawaii before the war the Army publicly accepted the loyalty of the Japanese element and eventually rejected ideas of its removal from Hawaii; it is interesting, too, to find that the head of the local FBI office was a leader in a community morale campaign to reassure the Hawaiian public when it tended to become hysterical. While the battalion was in service, all levels of the Army from Stimson and Marshall to fellow soldiers in the divisions of Fifth Army encouraged the Japanese of the battalion and its sister 442d RCT. Prejudice removed the Japanese from California; but Americans still have ideals as well as prejudices. The present story is also a case study in unconscious Americanization; as Murphy shows in graphic detail, the 100th Battalion had thoroughly American reactions to army life. The author has drawn upon official records and private letters to weave an account which tempts the reader far more than most military history. There are full notes and a bibliography but no index.

CHESTER G. STARR, *University of Illinois*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY. By Nelson R. Burr. [Church Historical Society Publications, No. 40.] (Philadelphia, the Society, 1954, pp. xvi, 768, \$10.00.) This is a history of a minority religious group in one of the smaller colonies. The inhabitants of eastern New Jersey tended to be Presbyterian, those of the western half, Quakers, but many had no active church life at all. Despite the general title, the book deals chiefly with the period 1702-90. Dr. Burr adds only a thirty-page epilogue on events since then, mostly brief biographies of the diocesan bishops. "A staunch churchman" himself (p. viii) he is also a trained historian and a research scholar on the staff of the Library of Congress. He is author of *Education in New Jersey, 1630-1871* (1942), which was the fourth of the Princeton "History of New Jersey" series. Much of colonial education was church supported. This latest work, although largely financed by the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New Jersey, fits in well with the Princeton series, which has no volume on religion. Dr. Burr relies heavily on original sources, especially the rich letter collection of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The story begins with the founding of this society in 1702, about the time New Jersey became a royal colony. There follow accounts of the activities of early priests like George Keith (converted from Quakerism) and John Talbot; the founding of churches in Perth Amboy, Burlington, Shrewsbury, Elizabeth, etc.; a discussion of the "Great Awakening," highlighted by visits of that not always welcome traveling preacher of "enthusiasm," George Whitefield; and the rise of Methodism. There is an especially vivid description of the everyday life of the colonial priest (chap. viii). Shortly before the Revolution an effort was made to set up an insurance fund for priests' widows. The priests also sought to obtain a colonial bishop

to avoid costly and risky trips to England for ordination as well as to supply leadership. The British felt this would further antagonize the Americans and so refused. During the Revolution many Anglicans and most priests were Tories. In the reorganization of the 1780's, a stronger church government was set up, the American church was renamed Protestant Episcopal, the Methodists got out, and an American bishop was appointed. New Jersey finally got a bishop in 1815. In 1874 New Jersey was split, the thickly settled Newark area gaining a bishop of its own. The book has almost 200 pages of appendixes, tables, footnotes, bibliographies, and a good index. There are sketches of each colonial parish and brief biographies of each priest, a list of the places served by them, statistics of church membership growth, a general bibliography and also a special one of the published works of the New Jersey colonial clergy. Certainly few, if any, states or churches have as complete a guide to their religious beginnings. The style is very readable too. This is a definitive work in its area and a model of historical craftsmanship.

DONALD L. KEMMERER, *University of Illinois*

PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS AND THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY, 1740-1776.

By *Theodore Thayer*. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1954, pp. x, 234.) Readers of this work will find a great deal of material on Pennsylvania politics—the party conflicts of Quakers, Presbyterians, Germans, and proprietary interest; the issues of frontier defense, pacifism, paper money, taxation of the proprietor's land, and efforts to convert Pennsylvania into a royal colony. All this is done in great detail. But the author's treatment of the growth of democracy leaves many unanswered questions. There is some confusion connected with his use of the concept "Growth of Democracy." Did he mean self-government or internal democracy? On page 6 he gives the impression that there was a great deal of democracy in Pennsylvania in 1740, and he concludes with the idea that the state adopted the most democratic constitution of the period. If most men could already vote, was this growth of democracy merely the process of getting rid of the proprietor and the British, or was it an internal development as his use of the terms Radical and Conservative implies? Mr. Thayer takes issue, and this reviewer believes correctly so, with the old thesis put forth by McKinley and others that the franchise was restricted and representation unjustly favored an aristocratic seaboard over the frontier. Unfortunately, he uses the same technique adopted by the opposing school. Whereas the old approach was to state that there were property qualifications for voting and therefore most men could not vote, Mr. Thayer states that there were voting qualifications which were easily met, and that "it seems reasonable to suppose" that most men in rural areas were qualified voters (p. 6). In neither instance has there been an effort to find out exactly how many men were disqualified by property requirements. A chapter giving some facts and figures on the number of qualified voters in Pennsylvania before 1776 would have strengthened the book immeasurably; an article to the same purpose would do much to convince the skeptical.

ROBERT E. BROWN, *Michigan State College*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA LIBRARY, 1825-1950: STORY OF A JEFFERSONIAN FOUNDATION. By Harry Clemons, Librarian, 1927-1950. Foreword by Dumas Malone, Professor of History, Columbia University. (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Library, 1954, pp. 229, \$5.00.) The University of Virginia is fortunate in being able to publish this full-length and excellently written history of its library by its librarian emeritus. It is hoped that its distribution will aid the further development of the library, a purpose which the author doubtless had in mind. Throughout he used light, witty touches rather than criticism so that the result will be pleasing to the university, to all living persons, and to the memory of the dead. His innate modesty helped make him a great librarian, but it can be blamed, in this instance, for his being less successful as a historian because he, who is chiefly responsible for the creation of the university's superior library facilities and services, has drastically minimized

if he did not actually ignore, his own role. The staff of the library, realizing this fault in the history, happily conspired to have a foreword written without Mr. Clemons' knowledge. This foreword, a splendid tribute to him, is in effect a discerning review of the book and it gives warning to read between the lines. However, the uninformed, particularly in the section relating the truly remarkable achievements of the period between 1925 and 1950, will not know which lines to read between.

ROBERT H. LAND, *Library of Congress*

NORTH CAROLINA: THE HISTORY OF A SOUTHERN STATE. By *Hugh Talmage Lefler* and *Albert Ray Newsome*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1954, pp. xii, 676, \$7.50.) The people and state of North Carolina have been the subject of an unusual number of competent histories. The late Professor Newsome and Professor Lefler here survey "developments in agriculture, industry, transportation, trade, education, religion, literature, and social life as well as the state's political and military history." It is indeed fortunate that the individual states are now obtaining scholarly accounts, such as this one, done by professional historians.

FROM MINE TO MARKET: THE HISTORY OF COAL TRANSPORTATION ON THE NORFOLK AND WESTERN RAILWAY. By *Joseph T. Lambie*, Assistant Professor of Economics, Wellesley College. [Business History Series.] (New York, New York University Press, 1954, pp. xviii, 380, \$6.00.) *From Mine to Market* is the story of the emergence of a Virginia agricultural, woodburning railroad between Norfolk and Bristol, Tennessee, into the present Norfolk and Western Railway (N. & W.), a great interregional coal-carrying system which, in 1951, ranked second among competing systems in the total tonnage originated and fifth in the total carried. The decisive event in this "emergence" was "the act of imagination" whereby the management, under direction of Frederick L. Kimball from 1881 to 1903, staked the future of their bankruptcy purchase and its possibilities on the rapid development of the West Virginia and neighboring bituminous coal deposits and on the haulage of Pocahontas coal. For that purpose they confidently improved their transportation facilities to the eastward, extended them to the northeast by way of the Shenandoah Valley, and erected enormous terminals at Norfolk, where the arrival of the first shipment of Pocahontas coal over the N. & W. was celebrated on March 17, 1883, with prophetic municipal ceremonies. The master stroke in this emergence was, however, the "Ohio Extension" effected in 1892 by the construction of a road through the heart of the Pocahontas coal field by way of present Bluefield and Welch, West Virginia, to Portsmouth, Ohio, and thence by lines previously purchased to Columbus and Cincinnati. For some time this extension has been "the heart of the N. & W. system." Though purposely restricted to an intensive history of the transportation of a single commodity, finances, labor, administration, personnel, and technological developments are treated incidentally. The most informative chapters deal with such things as the building and the acquisition of railroad lines and terminals, the integration and reorganization of the N. & W. system in a period of depression, coal car supplies for the mines, ownership and development of coal lands, and rivalries and compromises with competing systems. In the day of rugged individualism the solutions were not always in the best interest of the country at large and the Interstate Commerce Commission was established as an arbiter; but, as indicated by Professor Lambie, the problems remained essentially the same and involved many fundamentals in economic history. The objective presentation of these makes a distinct contribution. For sufficient reasons the author omits a formal bibliography of the coal and railroad industries. Instead, he gives a somewhat detailed description of the voluminous files

and records in the executive offices of the Norfolk and Western Railway at Roanoke, Virginia, his most important source of information, but the text is replete with appropriate references in the customary form at the first citation. The book is the third volume in the "Business History Series" edited by Ralph W. Hidy of the Graduate School of Business Administration of New York University.

C. H. AMBLER, *West Virginia University*

BOVARD OF THE POST-DISPATCH. By *James W. Markham*. [Journalism Monographs, No. 5.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1954, pp. xxii, 226, \$4.00.) Mr. Markham, a teacher of journalism, examines a newspaper career which began on the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in 1898 and continued until 1938. At the time of his retirement, O. K. Bovard had been his paper's managing editor for thirty years. Mr. Markham has had access to primary materials, some not yet generally available, and has filled out his information with personal correspondence and relevant reading. He has examined his subject impartially, as a personage and as an editor. On the first count, Bovard was overbearing, egotistical, and cold; he was also unpretentious, just, and appreciative of superior workmanship. As an editor, he was dominating and did not hesitate to make of other people's work what seemed to him proper. His virtues made him a legend of accuracy, literacy, and deep-cutting attention to public issues and concerns, an editor who kept his staff at top quality. Mr. Markham has compartmentalized his themes ("Mr. Bovard and His Men," "Bovard and the Pulitzer Management," "Campaigns and Crusades," among others), and the reader must, to some extent, construct a chronological sense of events for himself. The significance of *Post-Dispatch* operations is more fully and intimately probed than are its policies and campaigns. For instance, the newspaper and Bovard were both concerned about local franchise-grabbing proclivities of the Central Traction Company. They were, apparently, aware that rude, antilabor tactics marked the company's struggle with strikers during the great St. Louis street railway stoppage in 1900. Why, then, the *Post-Dispatch* should have taken the company's part, and a drop in circulation, the author does not say. Nor does he so much as identify Charles R. Crane, who in 1902 provided financial assistance to Joseph W. Folk, then fighting bribery and graft in a famous St. Louis crusade. Other strategic episodes would have gained from more adequate examination or illustration, particularly in the pre-World War I period. What comes through is a picture of Bovard as a highly competent journalist who set severe standards of newspaper administration and reporting and was responsible for notable episodes in newspaper history. His refusal to accept the false report of an armistice in 1918 was a high point in his career, as were his services during the Teapot Dome affair. The *Post-Dispatch*, under Bovard's management, performed vigorously and responsibly during the critical 1930's, and, indeed, the signal development in Bovard's social thought through this period causes one to regret that its roots and permutations have not been more intensively sought.

LOUIS FILLER, *Antioch College*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

MESSAGES AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES BROWN RAY, GOVERNOR OF INDIANA, 1825-1831. Edited by *Dorothy Riker* and *Gayle Thornbrough*. [Indiana Historical Collections, Volume XXXIV.] (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Bureau, 1954, pp. viii, 726, \$7.50.) In an unusual but constitutional manner, James Brown Ray rose from president pro tempore of the state senate to governor of Indiana. Although he was twice elected chief executive, his rapid rise above other leaders handicapped him. He served as governor from 1825 to 1831 and opposed the political parties that were being organized at the time but failed to keep himself free from partisan commitments. His writings were bombastic and florid in style, reflecting his somewhat erratic procedure. Further office was denied him. Ray's views reflected the frontier conditions which prevailed in Indiana during his lifetime. First of all he was an advocate of internal improvements—roads, rivers, canals, and railroads. He was somewhat farsighted in this respect, preferring railroads as the most useful form of transportation. A vigorous nationalist, he sharply criticized the nullifiers of South Carolina and favored a protective tariff. This volume is the fourth in a series which includes the *Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison* (2 vols., Indianapolis, 1922), and the *Messages and Papers of Jonathan Jennings, Ratliff Boon, and William Hendricks* (Indianapolis, 1924). A considerable body of

the papers of territorial governor Harrison were preserved, but most of those of his early successors, the governors of the state, were not. Consequently, the third and fourth volumes of the series are not as significant as the first two. The editors of the Ray papers have searched official files, publications, and newspapers. The importance of the resulting volume is largely restricted to the fact that it makes scattered materials readily available in collected form. The editors' work is excellent. It includes a brief biographical sketch, explanatory footnotes, and an index. The format is quite satisfactory.

JOHN D. BARNHART, *Indiana University*

HISTORY OF MARSHALL FIELD & CO., 1852-1906. By *Robert W. Twyman*, Associate Professor of History, Bowling Green State University. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press for American Historical Association, 1954, pp. 249, \$5.00.) From the records of a major midwestern social and economic institution, Robert W. Twyman has abstracted this modest analysis of the purchasing, sales, and management policies of Marshall Field and Company. The work, first of a projected two-volume study, traces the firm from its origins to the death of its founder in 1906. From 1865, when the store handled \$8,000,000 in simple dry goods for wholesale and retail, the firm expanded until in 1906 it distributed \$50,000,000 in supplies to a wholesale market stretching from the Alleghenies to the Pacific and during the same year retailed \$25,000,000 worth of goods in remarkable variety to the Chicago area. The author concludes that the growth of the store "was no more phenomenal than that of the city in which it was located and . . . that much of it was only a product of the growth of both Chicago and the West." Marshall Field maintained the regional pace through dependence on "progressive policies and carefully maintained traditions." He purchased at the outset a firm that was already leader in the dry goods field. His combination of wholesale and retail operations permitted major economies. Cash purchasing won from suppliers discounts that kept costs low, and conservative credit requirements restricted wholesale trade to sound local merchants. Encouragement of employee initiative, and efforts to make retail selling a dignified profession, held the loyalty of an alert and imaginative staff. Customers were won and held by merchandise of guaranteed quality, by a liberal returns policy, and by the unprecedented courtesies and services that the store increasingly offered. Professor Twyman's account of the Field organization is a work of quality. Its generally chronological organization is broken by topical analysis of personnel problems, advertising, and customer services, but personalities remain somewhat in the background. Marshall Field and his colorful associates emerge only from description of store policies, and are kept subordinate to their merchandising functions. The author's purpose, though narrow, is clearly defined and well executed. The volume won honorable mention in the Beveridge Award competition of the American Historical Association for 1952 and was published by the Beveridge Memorial Fund.

ROBERT A. LIVELY, *University of Wisconsin*

THE BATTLE CRY OF FREEDOM: THE NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID COMPANY IN THE KANSAS CRUSADE. By *Samuel A. Johnson*. (Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1954, pp. 357.) From the moment of its birth in 1854 the New England Emigrant Company became a subject of controversy. The company has been credited on one hand with making Kansas a free state, and its leaders have been venerated as crusaders for human freedom. On the other hand, the company has been allotted only a negligible part, if any, in peopling Kansas with emigrants from the free states; and its leaders have been described as profit-seekers. Instead, as a noisy, nosey troublemaker it may have discouraged responsible pioneers from mov-

ing to "Bleeding Kansas." Now during the centennial year of the company, Mr. Johnson rises above partisan and sectional biases which have clouded earlier evaluations to give us a clearer understanding of the company. He proves that the original purpose of the company was to block the extension of slavery into Kansas. Only after this object was achieved in the fall of 1856 did the officials try to salvage the original investments. Active managers of the company, with the exception of Eli Thayer, thus regarded their activities as primarily benevolent. Since the company sent out only about three thousand emigrants, it obviously did not save Kansas by numbers. In other ways it was a real force in making Kansas. It built hotels and erected about half the mills available to the settlers. Its agents and emigrants established all the towns that were centers of free-state activity and aided in the founding of schools, churches, and libraries. And by example the company stimulated the formation of emigrant aid societies outside New England. Perhaps this was not difficult in New York city where two organizations were started to save Kansas by colonies of vegetarians who dreamed of surveying tracts two miles square into sixteen triangles forming an octagon with a village in the center. The company was one, but only one, factor that produced a conflict in Kansas. In so doing it did contribute to the fateful growth of the Republican party, since "Bleeding Kansas" was the life blood of that party in its infancy. *Battle Cry of Freedom* is based upon rich manuscript and published sources, is carefully organized, and is at times a dramatic book. Unless new sources are discovered, it is difficult to foresee the necessity of another book on this subject.

CLAYTON S. ELLSWORTH, *College of Wooster*

GLORY, GOD, AND GOLD: A NARRATIVE HISTORY. By *Paul I. Wellman*. [Mainstream of America Series.] (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1954, pp. xii, 402, \$6.00.) Mr. Wellman has written an arresting narrative about the Southwest under a bizarre title. Books I and II (118 pages) relate to the work of the Spanish *conquistadores* and colonizers, Book III (51 pages) to French trail-blazing, trapping, and trading, and the remainder of the volume to Texas settlement and revolution, the Texas Republic, the Mexican War, the range cattle industry, outlawry and gunmen, and the destruction of the American bison. As a consequence, the narrative consists of not-too-well integrated episodes. The author has chosen those stirring, dramatic events which best lend themselves to colorful treatment and has omitted others which, in many instances, are less interesting but just as important. Particularly noticeable among the events omitted are the Marquette and Joliet expedition down the Mississippi River in 1673, Portolá and Serra's founding of San Diego in 1769, and Alarcón's planting of San Antonio in 1718. Nevertheless, those events and movements which the author has chosen to form *Glory, God, and Gold* are beautifully clothed in brilliant historical writing and bear the imprint of sound research. One may follow step by step, and with mounting interest, Coronado's journey from Compostela to Gran Quivira, through hostile pueblo land, and across the semi-arid wastes of southern Arizona, New Mexico, and the billowing grasslands of the *Llano Estacado*, abounding in millions of bison; or one may even share the *conquistadores'* bitter disappointment upon finding only squalor and filth in the miserable Cibolan villages, instead of rich treasures. Equally well done are other scenes—the attempt to found La Salle's colony at Matagorda Bay on the Texas coast in the autumn of 1684; the cultural clash in Texas, resulting in the revolution of 1836 and the Texas Republic; Brigadier General H. H. Sibley's attempt to wrest New Mexico from the control of the federal army during the Civil War; and the Anglo-Americans' struggle to win the southern plains from the Indians and buffaloes so that they could build there a cattle kingdom. The author has also demonstrated literary skill in choosing intriguing titles, such as "The

Captain in Gold Armor," "Quivira and the End of Hope," "Moses of the American Wilderness," "Tawny Cossacks of the Great Plains," and "St. Denis, the Unabashed." And his character sketches of Francisco Vasquez Coronado, of Jim Bowie, of Sam Houston, and of others are uncommonly well done. Literally, he has added flesh to "history's dry bones" by recreating its dramatic settings and episodes without employing imaginative fill-ins. The book's format is in good taste. Its beautiful jacket, end-paper maps, and other well-drawn and useful maps in the text, a satisfactory bibliography, and an index—all leave little to be desired.

CARL COKE RISTER, *Texas Technological College*

THE LAST WAR TRAIL: THE UTEs AND THE SETTLEMENT OF COLORADO. By *Robert Emmitt*. [The Civilization of the American Indian.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1954, pp. ix, 333, \$4.50.) This is the story of the Ute uprising in western Colorado of 1879—one of the last and most dramatic episodes in the century-old contest between the white man and the red. By giving Nathan Meeker's background and training, Mr. Emmitt explains the Indian agent's purposes. Equally effective is the author's presentation of Ute thinking and actions. Meeker made a determined effort to get the Indians to give up their pony herds and take up the cattle industry. But the Indian attachment to nomad life, to horse racing and gambling was too deep to be changed suddenly. Their inborn antipathy to the plow, to schools, and to the white manner of life was pitted against Meeker's passion for "civilizing" the Indians. Clash was inevitable. The author has studied the printed sources and quotes extensively from the documentary record. He has also interviewed Indians and whites who were connected with the conflict or had special knowledge and flavor to contribute to the recital. He presents an incident or a phase of the story from the documents, then tells it from the Ute point of view and in picturesque Indian language and figures of speech. By daring to express the thoughts of the Indian actors and supplying imaginary conversation, the author gives a dramatic and effective portrayal. This part of the writing is not history in the factual sense, but it is true in the large general picture presented. Literary skill is exhibited in the writing. Effective drawings by Bettina Steinke illustrate the text. A bibliography and a brief index are provided.

LEROY R. HAFEN, *Brigham Young University*

OLD SPANISH TRAIL: SANTA FÉ TO LOS ANGELES. WITH EXTRACTS FROM CONTEMPORARY RECORDS AND INCLUDING DIARIES OF ANTONIO ARMIJO AND ORVILLE PRATT. By *LeRoy R. Hafen* and *Ann W. Hafen*. [The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, Volume I.] (Glendale, Calif., Arthur H. Clark, 1954, pp. 377, \$9.50.) Inaugurating a proposed fifteen-volume series of documents on "The Far West and the Rockies, 1820-1875," this introductory study by Dr. and Mrs. Hafen gives a general historical account of exploration and travel in the west for the period under consideration. The area treated extends from the Spanish settlements in northern New Mexico to those in Southern California and to the British outposts in the Northwest. Chief emphasis is naturally reserved for the traffic that grew up between the posts in New Mexico and those in California, whether or not it passed over the trail here called "The Old Spanish Trail." The method of the Hafens in developing this work is interesting and effective. First comes some account of the terminal towns, Santa Fé and Los Angeles, as seen by contemporaries in the 1840's, something on the "Forerunners," i.e., the explorers and settlers of New Mexico and California, and then follows a topical treatment of such subjects as "Padres," "Fur Hunters," "Explorers," "Trail Makers," "Packers," "Home Seekers," "Horse Thieves," "Slave Catchers," "Path Markers," and

others. While this method is rather ingenious, it does entail some repetition, though it has the advantage of emphasizing many important topics of southwestern history. The authors are at their best in dealing with the expeditions that crossed southern Utah and Colorado. This part of the country, it is clear, is home to them and they speak of it with authority. As for New Mexico, it is regrettable to note that Santa Fé, which was never known by any other name than "the villa of Santa Fé," is referred to as "Villa Real de Santa Fé de San Francisco," or that Oñate's first capital of New Mexico is given as San Gabriel instead of the famous San Juan or San Juan de los Caballeros. San Gabriel became the second capital, Santa Fé the third. To this reviewer it seems inappropriate to dignify by the title of "The Old Spanish Trail" a trail that was used but ineffectually for some twenty years when the ancient Spanish trail that tied Santa Fé to Mexico City stretched for about seventeen hundred miles and was for nearly two hundred years the lifeline that preserved New Mexico as part of the Spanish Empire. In fact, the Old Spanish Trail of the present work was not established until after the fall of Spain's American possessions. This "Far West" series promises the public a rich feast of western lore, much of it unknown or buried in little-known sources. The editors are experts in the field. The standard set by editors and publisher in Volume I is high. The book is beautifully printed on heavy paper, nicely bound, has a map and illustrations, and a brief index. A comprehensive analytical index is promised at the end of the series.

GEORGE P. HAMMOND, *University of California, Berkeley*

CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH VOYAGES, 1848-1849: THREE ORIGINAL NARRATIVES. Edited by *John E. Pomfret*. (San Marino, Calif., Huntington Library, 1954, pp. x, 246, \$5.00.) This beautifully printed volume contains three journals descriptive of the Cape Horn route to California during the Gold Rush. Two of the journals were kept by passengers on sailing vessels, the third by the captain of the famous Pacific Mail steamship *Californian*. All three are decidedly interesting and useful. They are sufficiently detailed and colorful to be informative and alive, unlike some diaries of this type which tell one little more than the daily latitude, longitude, and weather. They are also written in straightforward, relatively simple literary styles, rather than in the exaggerated rhetoric so characteristic of many amateur narratives of this period. The editor has, then, chosen well in selecting these three manuscripts for publication. On the other hand, one might wish that he had given the reader more guidance in his introduction and footnotes. The personalities of the three journalists and the details they report are so interesting that most readers will find themselves asking for more information than the editor has supplied. Admittedly it is not easy to uncover the biographical facts concerning relatively obscure diarists, and yet it is possible. David M. Potter's brilliant editing of the Geiger-Bryarly journal of an overland trip to California in 1849 is a splendid example of what can be accomplished. Potter's book, published in 1945 as *Trail to California*, contains an introduction of seventy-three pages, copious footnotes, appendixes, a bibliography, and a map. The present volume, by contrast, offers a main introduction of only six pages, supplementary introductions of one or two pages at the beginning of each of the three journals, and a few very brief footnotes. Surely it would be worth while to give closer editorial attention to a book that presents such well selected material in such an attractive format. RODMAN W. PAUL, *California Institute of Technology*

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Latin-American History

J. R. Barager¹

GENERAL

THE CARIBBEAN: ITS ECONOMY. Edited by *Curtis A. Wilgus*. [School of Inter-American Studies Publication, Series I, Volume IV.] (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1954, pp. xix, 286, \$4.00.) This volume contains twenty papers and addresses presented during a three-day conference on the Caribbean area held at the University of Florida during the first week of December, 1953. The subjects discussed were not exclusively economic, as the subtitle suggests. Some of the contributors dealt with drama, poetry, music, and aesthetic arts and crafts. The major part of the volume, however, is concerned with economics. The area covered is interpreted broadly so as to include Mexico and the Guianas. Among the contributors were two officials of the Aluminum Company of America, two labor experts, two Central American educators, two geographers, a city manager from Puerto Rico, a mining expert from the United States Bureau of Mines, a consulting engineer from New York, an official of the United Nations (a Mexican citizen), an official of the United States Department of

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

State, and a "writer and lecturer." The editor, historian by profession, furnishes an introduction which attempts to place the Caribbean in its general setting by summarizing the human and material resources of the entire Latin-American region. Omitting certain pages which seem diffuse or irrelevant, the conclusion that the work as a whole is a significant contribution to the subject considered seems amply justified. In judging its various parts, the reviewer will be influenced by his own tastes and preferences. This reviewer feels that most of the essays and addresses run from good to excellent. Among those which seem to merit this appraisal are: Secretary Cabot's address on "Contemporary Forces at Work in the Caribbean Today"; Carl O. Sauer's essay on "Economic Prospects of the Caribbean"; José Rolz Bennett's "Guatemala—Its Resources and Recent Evolution"; Alan Probert's "The Role of Mineral Resources in the Economy of the Caribbean"; and the two essays dealing with labor in the area. Some of the pronouncements of other contributors need to be balanced by contrary views.

J. FRED RIPPY, *University of Chicago*

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★ ★ ★ ★ *Historical News* ★ ★ ★ ★

The New York Meeting, 1954

I

The sixty-ninth annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held in New York on December 28, 29, and 30, 1954, broke by a wide margin all previous attendance records. The total paid registration of 1,985 far surpassed the former record figure of 1,533 set at New York in 1951. History, it would seem, is a vigorous and even booming profession. Despite the unprecedented crowd, the facilities of the Hotel Commodore—headquarters for the convention—proved adequate in nearly every respect. A few sessions were held also at the Hotel Roosevelt, the New York Public Library, and the English-speaking Union.

The awesome responsibility for managing the thousand and one details involved in registering, housing, feeding, entertaining, and publicizing the scholarly multitudes was unobtrusively and efficiently met by the Local Arrangements Committee headed by Bayrd Still of New York University. Aiding him on the committee were Sidney A. Burrell, Barnard College; Richard O. Cummings, Brooklyn College; Mary Latimer Gambrell, Hunter College; Robert W. Hill, the New York Public Library; Louis L. Snyder, the City College, New York; Fritz Stern, Columbia University; and R. W. G. Vail and Merle Evans, the New-York Historical Society. The committee was greatly assisted in various ways by personnel from the New York Convention and Visitors Bureau, Inc., and by students from the New York area who aided in the work of registration. J. C. Egan and other members of the Hotel Commodore staff were unfailingly co-operative. William A. Spencer and Cecilia Maguire of the Office of Information Services of New York University handled the promotion and publicity for the meeting. To all these who gave so unstintingly of their time and talents, all those who attended the convention are indebted.

The Committee on Program—comprised of Franklin Le Van Baumer, Yale University; Thomas J. Pressly, University of Washington; Kenneth M. Setton, Columbia University; A. William Salomone, New York University; and the undersigned—found its duties less onerous than had been anticipated because of the willingness of so many colleagues to share the burden. For the benefit of those who have always wondered about the mystery of program-making, it can be revealed that of the twenty-four sessions for which the committee took chief responsibility, fourteen were conceived and arranged by members of the committee and ten were the outgrowth of proposals received from other sources. Unfortunately many excellent suggestions from the field could not be acted on because they were received too late; it is necessary to have the program substantially in hand by April. The remaining seventeen academic sessions on the program were

arranged through the program chairmen of the several groups and societies meeting jointly with the Association.

The following summary of the meeting was prepared from reports submitted with remarkable fidelity, promptness, and literary restraint by the chairmen of the several sessions. With but a few exceptions these *précis* have been used without major alterations. Because of their necessary brevity they can but suggest the main themes touched on in the papers that were read, but they do reflect the impressive breadth and depth of the field of history in America in 1954.

II

Several of the sessions were designed to appeal broadly to members of the Association regardless of their specialized fields of interest. Historians, it was felt, have not yet reached the unfortunate condition of certain related disciplines, where colleagues find it increasingly difficult to communicate with one another. The sessions justified themselves both in terms of the testimony they gave to the common interests of the profession and the success they had in attracting capacity audiences.

The opening session on "What Is Happening to History in the Colleges," held under the chairmanship of Robert E. Riegel of Dartmouth College, dealt with a problem of general concern. Jennings B. Sanders of the United States Office of Education, in "A Statistical Evaluation," pointed out that in the past the number of college students of history followed rather closely the fluctuations of total college enrollment. Since the prospect is for a rapid expansion of the colleges during the next fifteen years, he predicted a considerable increase in the demand for college instructors of history. Thomas C. Mendenhall of Yale University, in "History and the Social Sciences," held that history at all levels can benefit from the methods of the various social sciences and that the connection will be particularly profitable in graduate school instruction. He was convinced, however, that certain unique characteristics of history should lead to its retention as an independent discipline. George Barr Carson of the University of Chicago, in "The Proper Scope of History," maintained that history should both discover and arrange facts and that it should be qualitative rather than quantitative, seeking to evaluate human ideals over all time, including the present; it should therefore not be limited to a compilation of facts for the use of other social scientists and should have at least as good a status as any other subject in the curriculum. Raymond P. Stearns of the University of Illinois, in "College History and Its 'New Approaches,'" contended that the "educationalists" who now dominate primary and secondary education insist that history has no importance in itself but can only make contributions to some such goal as "life adjustment" or "democratic action." He asserted that similar goals were being urged for the colleges and insisted that historians should meet the challenge directly and not try the impossible task of modifying existing courses to satisfy the "educationalists." Discussion from the floor was aimed par-

ticularly at Stearns's paper, with a number of persons interested in secondary education objecting to the sweeping nature of the indictment. Erling M. Hunt of Teachers College, Columbia University, contended that more and better history was continually being taught in the secondary schools, and that the quoting of the more extreme statements of men working in the field of education was not a fair way of describing current educational trends.

The insights of scholars from related disciplines were drawn upon in the session devoted to "Some Perspectives on Recent Historiography," presided over by Michael Kraus of the City College, New York. The three participants were a philosopher, a historian, and a sociologist. Maurice Mandelbaum of the philosophy department at Dartmouth, speaking on "History and Social Theory," touched on the problem of the objectivity of historical knowledge and the relation of history to other disciplines. He told his audience that philosophers have generally moved away from the formerly popular position of "relativism." He suggested that a fruitful approach to the problems confronting historians might be found in an examination of the subject matter of history. In opposition to the familiar definition of history as the record of all that has been said or done in the past, he proposed that its subject matter be defined in terms of what is important for an understanding of the nature of change in society. He concluded by emphasizing the interrelationship of history and the social sciences, but at the same time he denied that history is a discipline which can eventually be supplanted by the generalizing social sciences.

Lee Benson of Columbia, the historian on the panel, read a paper on "An Operational Approach to Historiography." As he defined his title, it was "the codification of some historiographic procedures normally treated more casually and less systematically." In a criticism of the "relativist" school, Benson suggested that a deliberate effort to establish objective standard operating procedures would, in time, narrow the margins of disagreement among historians. As a case study he examined the familiar thesis that the Kansas-Nebraska Act was chiefly responsible for altering political allegiances in the North. His conclusion was that it may very well have been the issue of nativism, not the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which had more influence in detaching voters from their traditional party loyalties. Benson ended with a plea for serious concern with proper methodology to help find answers to historical problems.

The sociologist on this panel was Paul Lazarsfeld of Columbia, whose paper was "Some Possible Applications of Recent Social Research to Historiography." He drew attention to the value of contributions made in the field of public opinion research. He remarked that though historians were generally inclined to be skeptical of the value of this type of research, they would be doing themselves a disservice if they failed to utilize the results of careful studies of public opinion. "If the future historian is to find our data useful," he observed, "we have, in a way, to be prophets. We have to know what scholars will be concerned with in 50 or

100 years." And he ended with a call to present historians to assist in drawing up the proper kind of questions to elicit answers of interest to future historians.

In the session devoted to "Historical Restorations and the Professional Historian," under the chairmanship of Roy F. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania, the attention of academic historians was directed to a rapidly developing companion field. Ronald F. Lee, chief of the Division of Interpretation of the National Park Service of the Department of Interior, discussed the activities of the federal government in preserving historic sites and providing nondocumentary source material for historians and public. Federal holdings now total 123 properties. These are operated by a properly trained staff, who, by their interpretation to the public, have an important educational role. Edward P. Alexander, director of the Division of Interpretation of Colonial Williamsburg, discussed historical restoration as developed by nongovernmental agencies. Of these, there are some 1,100 projects now in operation. They do their best to re-create accurately a past environment and to use this setting to bring a period of history to life for a large and varied modern audience.

John A. Krout of Columbia University spoke on the responsibilities of the academic historian in the matter of historical restorations. He gave an eloquent plea to academic historians to take a more active interest in the preservation of these nondocumentary sources. He commented upon their laggard interest and the consequent disappearance of much to history. He said there was great need of selectivity in preservation and lamented the fact that some of what had been done had been accomplished haphazardly, often without adequate plan. He stressed the fact that the most fruitful interpretation depended upon the accuracy of the work and the skill in communication of those who have these projects in charge. Waldo G. Leland of Washington, for many years head of the Historical Advisory Board of the National Park Service, made a number of cogent comments drawn from his long experience. He was followed by Alfred A. Knopf, present chairman of the Historical Advisory Board, who urged that historians stimulate the public to support the proper maintenance of these historical sites.

The session on "Criteria of Periodization in History" had as chairman Geoffrey Bruun of Ithaca, New York, who announced that the speakers would limit their discussion to European history. In the opening paper Dietrich Gerhard of Washington University, St. Louis, reasoned that "The traditional division of European history into Middle Ages and Modern Times is more apt to obscure than to facilitate an understanding of European history." He presented strong and lucid arguments to defend the theses that "Modern Europe begins with the Enlightenment, the Industrial and the French Revolution," and that "the 11th and 12th centuries were the formative period for the Old Europe" which survived up to the eighteenth century. Herbert Heaton of the University of Minnesota described various techniques adopted by students of economic history to interpret the growth and transformation of European society since ancient times. He pointed out the

flaws and limitations of the Marxist approach; the inadequacy of surviving records which makes statistical analyses spotty and incomplete; and the dangers implicit in any formula that equates the historical individual with the "economic man" and nothing more. But he emphasized the gains achieved in the past eighty years by cautious and systematic students of economic history. Meyer Schapiro of Columbia University then reviewed the main divisions and period names current in writings on European art and their uncertainties. He called attention to three types of period nomenclature: political-dynastic, cultural, and aesthetic, and he indicated how ambiguously their application and even their chronological limits have fluctuated. While conceding that all periodization is a conventional device susceptible to infinite variations, he defended it as useful and necessary because "mapping" the past "is an instrument in ordering the historical objects as a continuous system in time and space."

Guy Stanton Ford presided over a session that probed a perplexing question of the present day, "Problems of Democratization in Europe and Asia." Papers by Hajo Holborn, Hugh Barton, and S. William Halperin dealt with Germany, Japan, and Italy respectively. Each speaker measured the chances of democracy becoming indigenous against a past history which especially in Germany and Japan had left an infertile soil. The historical approach in each case was a masterly summation of institutions, class interests, and mores. A Prussian-dominated Germany and a Japan under a decreed constitution of 1889 both exhibited political and social structures that paid only lip service to the liberal and parliamentary ideals of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Italy, Professor Halperin indicated, had a past more consonant with these trends but a social and economic situation among the landless peasantry and depressed labor that favored communism. This party, with the socialists following blindly, was a constant threat.

The sketches of German and Japanese history skillfully subordinated essential details to the general impression that democracy in the Anglo-American tradition had as yet no deep roots in these two lands. In Japan the occupation-inspired reforms threw into reverse the constitution of 1889. As they take things into their own hands the Japanese have already re-centralized the control of schools and the police and passed antsubversive laws that threaten human rights. In Germany the Bonn constitution is an adaptation of Weimar. Despite a certain flexibility it strengthens federal power over many artificially limned states. Economic recovery and the absorption of ten million refugees have been stabilizing factors, while Russia on the East remains a constant menace. The bureaucracy open only to university graduates is back in force increased by the justiciable questions raised by an extended bill of rights. Two national parties including all classes have not yet clearly emerged. The future alone can determine whether a true *Volksstaat* will replace the *Polizeistaat* or the vague ideal of a *Rechtsstaat*.

A session on "The State and Religion: An Exploratory Comparison in Different Cultures," under the chairmanship of Karl W. Deutsch of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, offered a concise comparison of developments in six civiliza-

tions. In the first paper Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton University compared "Greece and Rome, the West, Islam." He found that the Western experience in the Middle Ages with its powerful autonomous church stands at one end of the spectrum of possible relationships between religion and the state, while the Greek and Roman experience of state-oriented and state-dominated political religion stands at the other end. Islam seems to occupy a middle ground between these two extremes: it was more closely associated with the state than medieval Christianity was with any government.

The second paper on "Iran, India, and China" was read by Rushton Coulborn of the University of Atlanta. Mr. Coulborn drew attention to the rise of the Magi, who may have been originally a pre-Aryan group or tribe of priests, to religious influence and autonomous political power from the late sixth century B.C. onward, reaching its climax in the Sassanian Empire after A.D. 226. The Magi appear to have had an autonomous church organization, on a territorial basis, which also had charge of all justice.

India offers an example of a powerful priestly caste, the Brahmins, developed in the almost complete absence of an organized church. Major religious organizations are limited to caste *panchayats* (councils) and assemblies of caste members. It is moot whether the Brahmins' success in building up the caste system injured the development of the state in India.

In China about 1000 B.C., at the transition to Chou rule, religion and government were in effect one. From about the seventh century B.C. nations began to emerge in China and so did the great classical philosophy. Later, at the beginning of the seventh century A.D., the T'ang Dynasty reorganized the governing bureaucracy and regularized its recruitment through a system of examinations, according to Confucianist principles. However, this Confucianist bureaucracy was not a church, nor was there any institution in China then or later that could be so called.

Comparing developments among different cultures, Mr. Coulborn concluded that only Greece, Rome, and China show an institutional amalgamation of religion and politics, while all other large civilized societies separate religion from government. This sharp contrast between two main types of relation between religion and government suggests that there may be crucial junctures in the history of civilizations, at which decisions may determine much of the future of a civilization for the rest of its recognizable existence.

Willson H. Coates of the University of Rochester suggested a more complex classification of types in terms of dominance of the state or of religion and of the doctrinally "absorptive" or "exclusive" character of the latter. He concluded that state dominance over religion seemed bound to include the majority of cases found in history, since it includes practically all the variant forms of religion except theocracy, and that plurality of religions or institutional support for agnosticism and skepticism were most conducive to the preservation of the values of intellectual freedom. Paul Alexander of Brandeis University and Carl J. Friedrich of Harvard participated in the stimulating discussion that followed the formal papers.

One of the final sessions, "The Soviet Union and the Grand Alliance in World War II," attracted an audience that almost filled the Grand Ballroom. The principal speakers both demonstrated by their analyses that even during the most critical period of the war there was no real trust between the Soviet and the Allied governments. Discussing the Pacific War, Ernest R. May of Harvard University noted that the initial American eagerness for Soviet intervention against Japan soon changed to indifference until, in 1944-1945, the prospective operations against the Japanese home islands made Soviet action against the Manchurian Army seem highly desirable if not essential. The Joint Chiefs of Staff and General MacArthur were all of this opinion, which was reflected in the Yalta Agreements. The latter, as Louis Morton, Department of the Army, pointed out in discussion, may be taken to have limited Soviet expansion, since at the time there was no Western military power in Asia sufficient to check the Red armies. In any event, it would be a mistake to suppose that Russian intervention against Japan, when it came, was not important in deciding the Tokyo government to make peace. Morton suggested that in fact it appears to have weighed about as heavily as the atom bomb on Hiroshima.

In reviewing the war in Europe, Maurice Matloff, Department of the Army, like May, stressed the cold-blooded realism of Soviet policy. From the outset the Kremlin made it clear that it wanted as much help as possible in the way of supplies and in the opening of a second front but had no desire to see American or British troops on Russian soil. After the Stalingrad victory the political aims of the Soviet government became increasingly apparent, leading quickly to the rift that opened even before President Roosevelt's death.

Hanson W. Baldwin of the *New York Times*, in his prepared comment, stressed various factors that reacted unfavorably on American policy, such as the immaturity of public opinion, inadequate co-ordination of political and military leadership, the President's overconfidence, and the domination of policy by military concepts of a continental land army as the essential instrument of victory. In the general discussion many other interesting points were made from the floor as well as from the rostrum. Mr. Baldwin noted the overemphasis on military victory which led, for example, to the unconditional surrender program. This, in turn, not only prolonged the war but ended in the destruction of the one continental power that might afterward have served as a counterweight to Soviet Russia. Matloff suggested that the issue of unconditional surrender should be more intensively studied, and he noted that at bottom it was intended merely to reinsure the Kremlin that the Western powers would fight on to the end. He remarked also that the British tended to make too much of the projected attack on Europe's "soft underbelly." The underbelly was actually far from soft and as a matter of fact, no responsible leader ever suggested a Balkan operation as a substitute for the Normandy invasion. Mere reference to these important and highly controversial issues will suggest the interest evoked by this session.

"Conformity in American Life" was the subject of a symposium that attracted

a capacity audience. What was perhaps most distinctive about this meeting was the diversity of views put forward regarding the character and locus of the drive for conformity to be found at present in American society. Consequently, although the contributions were vigorous and the discussion following it animated, there was little agreement concerning the diagnosis and less concerning the treatment of whatever the ailment might be.

Louis Hartz of Harvard found in the "liberalism" of John Locke the viewpoint on human nature and society that has met most responsiveness in America. This liberalism received a new incentive from the rise of nationalism, and with this incentive "American liberalism" took its distinctive direction. In our times there have been two main responses to or deviations from this tradition. One has been an attempt to close it down, stressing the "Americanism." The other an attempt to "shatter" it in the interest of a new liberalism.

Peter Viereck, Mount Holyoke College, found the soul of conformism in most of the "conformity-baiters." They falsely regard decent respect for the great conservative traditions, the enduring values, as itself conformism. Viereck believed that some of the objects of their assaults were really sinister. It was his view that one American politician was merely an extreme example of a sort of leftist radical, because he thundered most against everything that is "venerable and patrician."

At a few points John Chamberlain appeared to be in sympathy with the views of Viereck, since he took the position that the outcry against conformity was mostly itself an insistence on an opposing conformity. He held that there were only a few periodicals—such as *The Freeman*—that boldly stood for a genuine liberalism. But his emphasis was rather that the outcry in question was an assault on the basic principle of "free enterprise."

Eric F. Goldman of Princeton countered the two preceding speakers at nearly all points. Conformity and the demand for conformity are significant factors in American life, springing from a dominant middle class morality that seeks to retain its control against the new demands of the rising lower classes. World developments as well as national ones have filled the middle classes with anxiety lest they lose some of their position and their power. Therefore they have made the communist threat from without an effective device for attacking every deviation from their own standards. The chairman of this provocative session was Robert M. MacIver, Columbia University.

III

Four sessions on ancient and medieval history, all of which attracted audiences that far exceeded the room space available, gave convincing evidence of the vigor and interest attaching to these traditional fields. Interestingly enough, three of the four meetings dealt with issues highly relevant to contemporary concerns.

"Greek Tyranny" was the theme of the ancient history session at which Solomon Katz of the University of Washington presided. The first paper, read by Mary E. White of the University of Toronto, was entitled "Greek Tyranny: The

Historical Record." After tracing the history of the term *tyrannos*, Miss White examined the circumstances under which the first tyrannies arose and discussed the nature of the tyrants' power. She described their encouragement of a diversified economy, their vigorous foreign policy, and their patronage of the arts and demonstrated finally that the tyrants provided the transition between rigid aristocracy and the classical oligarchies or democracies.

Anthony E. Raubitschek of the Institute for Advanced Study gave the second paper, "Ostracism: Tyranny as a Political Issue." He emphasized the link between internal security against tyranny and external security against Persia or Sparta and the desire of the Athenians to deal gently but firmly with men who pursued unpopular policies. Through the wise use of a security program symbolized by these two aspects of the law of ostracism, Athens enjoyed domestic peace during the hectic years of the fifth century.

"The Philosophers' View of Tyranny," was the title of the third paper, read by Edwin L. Minar of De Pauw University. He maintained that we learn very little from the major philosophers about tyranny because they dealt indiscriminately with historical phenomena and intellectual constructs. They completed a process, which had begun in popular prejudice and partisan propaganda, of robbing the term and the concept of any precision. Henceforth "tyrant" could seldom mean more than "wicked ruler." In his prepared comment James F. Gilliam of the State University of Iowa examined several aspects of Greek tyranny; other facets of the problem were revealed in the discussion from the floor.

That the session on "Rome, Constantinople, and Moscow" was particularly successful was due to the excellent papers on the Council of Florence read by the three speakers and the lively interest manifested by the listeners who had filled the hall to overflowing.

Deno J. Geanakoplos of the University of Illinois, in his paper "The Council of Florence and the Problem of the Union of the Churches," made a profound analysis of Greek and Latin sources relative to the Council of Florence, stressing the importance of Syropoulos' record, which, until now, has been considered unreliable by Western scholars. The ultimate failure of the Union at Florence was due principally to the conflict between basic conceptions of the Church in East and West. Also of fundamental importance to the Union's lack of success was the deep-rooted hostility toward the Latins of the majority of the Greek people, who could not forget the period of the Latin occupation.

M. Cherniavsky of Wesleyan University spoke on "The Reception of the Council of Florence in Moscow." He based his research on Russian sources, mostly unknown to the West, justifiably stressing their value for the history of the Council and for the religious and political development in Moscow under Basil II. From the beginning Moscow refused to entertain the idea of Union or even of a Council; Latinity was absolute heresy. Russian negative reaction to the Council, and the ideology which inspired it, was of great importance to the development of an autocratic political theory. It set up a promise for further

development—as Grand Prince and *defensor fidei* of a uniquely orthodox Russia the ruler could claim the true empire over orthodoxy, i.e., over Christendom: an empire to which there were no rivals after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

I. Sevcenko from the University of Michigan, in discussing the “Intellectual Repercussions of the Council of Florence,” pointed out the importance of the intellectual contacts between the Greek and Latin worlds at Florence for the growth of the Renaissance in the West. Greek pro-unionist intellectuals advocated the creation of a European ideological unity, not only to save their country but also to stem the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. To this “terrestrial” answer to the problem of saving Constantinople the anti-unionists proposed their “celestial” solution—appeal to God’s help, whose wrath, they argued, should not be stirred by the betrayal of the pure orthodox faith.

The anti-unionist Greeks were also aware that the Union might lead to the loss of the Slavic daughter-churches. In Russia the conclusion of the Union became an official argument for autocephaly and later for the establishment of a patriarchate. The tenacity of anti-Florentine arguments on Russian soil may be traced into the seventeenth century when the Old Believers used them to fight the reforms of Patriarch Nikon. They are echoed in the orthodox polemics against the Union of Brest (1596), which professed to be a continuation of that of Florence, and appear in some proclamations issued under the auspices of the newly re-established patriarchate of Moscow (1948).

O. Halecki of Fordham University, in his comment, stressed the positive results of the Union of Florence, especially in Poland-Lithuania, which were not ephemeral. He was supported in this by N. D. Chubaty, who pointed out that Kiev’s reaction to Florence has been more favorable than that of Moscow. The chairman of the session was the Reverend Francis Dvornik of Harvard University—Dumbarton Oaks.

At a session devoted to discussion of the problem of “Conformity and Dissent in the Middle Ages,” Mary M. McLaughlin of the University of Nebraska, in a paper entitled “Medieval University Masters and Ideas of Intellectual Freedom,” addressed herself to the question of the extent to which masters in the faculties of arts and theology at the University of Paris insisted upon their right to discuss freely all problems germane to their subjects. She found much evidence to show that influential voices were raised against control of the individual in his thought and utterance, that masters vindicated their right to examine propositions irrespective of their truth and required only that the solution of a problem be in accord with right reason. For “to chain and bind men immovably in one opinion in matters concerning which there may be a diversity of views . . . is to hinder the pursuit and knowledge of truth.” In the field of socio-religious thought and action, Ernest W. McDonnell of Rutgers University dealt with other aspects of the same general problem. His paper on “*The Vita Apostolica: Diversity or Dissent?*” traced the development, more particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of the urge to return to apostolic simplicity in spiritual life, which received strong

impetus from the Gregorian reforms. The concept of the *vita apostolica* embraced, he explained, three basic principles: imitation of the primitive Church; a passionate love for souls; and evangelical poverty in common. His paper consisted in a careful analysis of the development of these three strands, eventuating in wide diversification of monastic forms, inclusive of laity and clergy, but instinct with a common aspiration toward greater piety and religious devotion. But this development led also to dissent, which the Church found it expedient to combat. To this problem the latter part of the paper was devoted.

The papers were briefly commented upon by Benjamin N. Nelson of the University of Minnesota and John H. Mundy of Columbia University, who were in substantial agreement with the papers as read. Nelson suggested the desirability of a broader study than Miss McLaughlin had felt able to present within the time at her disposal; Mundy suggested that the idea of the *vita apostolica* indicated a fundamental shift from the concept of vocation to emphasis upon a way of life and thus contributed to a withering away of monasticism itself.

The session on "Cultural Flowering and Economic Decline in the Renaissance," under the chairmanship of Herbert Heaton, University of Minnesota, was far from unanimous in its belief that the latter had anything to do with the former. Robert S. Lopez of Yale University more than hinted that the "artistic trends" went definitely upward when the long economic advance of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries gave way to downward, more depressed conditions after about 1350. So long as merchants could find highly profitable employment for their funds they bothered little with outlays on art or architecture; but in lean years of little profit the funds were spent artistically rather than invested commercially. This thesis provoked lively discussion on every point, from which, unfortunately, no well-established coefficient of correlation emerged. Richard W. Reichard essayed a more modest task. Regretting the art historians' tendency to ignore the social environment in which artists worked, he surveyed the "Prospects of a Social Interpretation of Renaissance Painting," taking Florence as his case study, with contrasts between that city and Genoa, Venice, Siena, and Rome. Frederic C. Lane, the Johns Hopkins University, offered able comments on the two papers.

IV

The area that may be loosely categorized as "modern history" was explored in five far-ranging sessions. In a discussion of "Approaches to the Baroque," the subject was brilliantly examined from different disciplinary vantage points, Manfred F. Bukofzer of Harvard University speaking as a musicologist, Helmut Hatzfeld of the Catholic University as a literary historian, and John R. Martin, Princeton University, as an art historian. General comments were made by Wolfgang Stechow, and Carl J. Friedrich of Harvard presided.

Bukofzer argued that two questions arise in the discussion of the baroque, namely, (1) whether the baroque era is a period in its own right, and (2) if it is, whether the term "baroque" serves a useful function. He answered both questions

in the affirmative and developed the proposition that period divisions in music history must be made on the basis of period styles, that style is a generalization based on many compositions, and that period style is useful as a tool, because it permits the dating and origin of compositions.

Hatzfeld also insisted upon the value of the concept of a baroque era which he would delimit by the manneristic which preceded and the baroque which followed it. Impressed by the high stylistic quality of the baroque, he stressed the need of comparative cultural study and research. He saw the basis of literary baroque in the liquidation of the Renaissance, which however must be seen as the basis of all baroque. He considered Italy the cradle of the baroque. The northern countries evolved but did not originate the baroque style. Baroque clearly is a genuine style linked to the revival of faith; it includes the French classicism and must not be distorted by dwelling on its exaggerations, which are marginal.

Martin argued, against Woelfflin and his followers, that baroque cannot be demonstrated on formal grounds, but that content must be considered. Among the elements of content he stressed were naturalism, the contrasting interest in allegory, and the concern with psychology. Finally, all baroque art is pervaded by a sense of the infinite, as manifest in space, light, and time, which he illustrated by reference to numerous baroque works of sculpture and painting.

Stechow undertook to clarify both what was common area of agreement and what was divergence in the several papers. They agreed that baroque was a term derived from art history, that the baroque period is the seventeenth century plus, that there is a great variety of trends within the baroque, and that baroque, whatever the term's difficulties, should continue to be used. On the other hand they disagreed *inter alia* on what is style and more especially what is baroque style, about the relation between baroque and mannerism, about the relation between an individual work of art and the style of a period, and finally about the inter-relationship of the three fields of art, literature, and music. Stechow concluded with a reference to a suggestion he had made many years ago that one of the baroque's most universal features might be its "new equilibrium between secular and religious forces." He would agree with Friedrich and Hatzfeld that baroque and Renaissance are far from being complete and polar contrasts. The discussion that followed was concerned with clarifying some of the general propositions advanced by the speakers, with further emphasis on the importance of style as a principle for historical periodization.

A session presided over by R. John Rath, University of Texas, was devoted to "German Thought and Politics, 1840-1871." Herbert Strauss of the Juilliard School, in a paper on "German Scientific Thought and Party Politics, 1840-1871," discussed the influence of natural science on German public opinion and its political implications. Although at first many German natural scientists belonged to the conservative "right," the more modern natural science thinkers were liberals who frequently drew on scientific theories to buttress their arguments in favor of political change and even revolution.

In a paper on "Rewriting the History of the German Unity Movement," Francis L. Loewenheim of Princeton University suggested that the presently accepted views or interpretations of the place of Prussia, the liberals, the 1848 revolution, and Bismarck in the history of the German unity movement needed to be revised. He also maintained that a reinterpretation of the movement for German economic unity is in order and asserted that the part played by the German liberals in the unification of Germany has been undervalued, while the roles of the Frankfurt Assembly and of Bismarck have been too much emphasized.

These papers were followed by two prepared comments. Fritz R. Stern, Columbia University, who devoted most of his remarks to Mr. Strauss's paper, called attention to the fact that the effect of scientific thought on nineteenth-century German politics has been overemphasized. The second commentator, F. Gunther Eyck, Rutgers University, in the main agreed with Loewenheim that the history of the German unity movement needs re-evaluation and that the role which the German liberals played in it needs to be brought out more fully than it has been in the past. Unlike Loewenheim, however, he maintained that not Prussia's role but the part taken in the unity movement by the middle-sized German states needs further study.

At the session on "The Liberal Age: Elements of Dissent, Instability, and Unrest," under the chairmanship of A. William Salomone of New York University, the four papers were in basic agreement that in none of the Western nations discussed did anything resembling a truly peaceful internal order exist during the Liberal Age. Rather, more or less grave tensions had been maturing and calling for some constructive resolution.

Andreas Dorpalen of St. Lawrence University read a stimulating paper on "Wilhelminian Germany: A House Divided against Itself" in which he highlighted the disparity between the objective manifestations and subjective realization that not all was as well as appearances showed in efficient, prosperous, and orderly Wilhelminian Germany. Responsible social, economic, and political elements were unwilling to seek constructive change in the institutional structure and function of the governmental system. Kent Forster of Pennsylvania State University, discussing "Stability and Instability in French Society before 1914," contended that the contemporary crisis of France owes much more to the impact of post-1914 developments than to any limitations and liabilities of the Liberal Age. Below the surface manifestations of discontent and the tumult and shouting of extremists, the Third Republic had achieved by 1914 a balance between liberty and order, security and prestige, social stability and cultural vigor that compared favorably with other national communities. The threads of France's contemporary crisis were, by 1914, merely potentially and not inevitably disruptive. John F. Glaser of Ripon College contributed a fine analysis of "The Crisis of the English Nonconformist Conscience," in which he traced the subtly changing character of the alliance between English Liberalism and the tradition of religious dissent. The

splintering impact of newer forces, material and moral, was felt by both Liberals and Nonconformists, who found themselves not only parting ways but being subjected to almost irresistible pressures which sapped their vitality, function, and even pertinence in British society immediately before the war. "The Problems of Liberal Italy" were concisely and clearly shown in William C. Askew's paper. The complex pattern of difficulties of post-Risorgimento and Giolittian Italy evinced two major and possibly decisive defections: the persisting dichotomy between the Italian political class and the Italian people and the other serious duality constituted by an advancing and aggressive North and the poverty-ridden and forsaken South. The choice and adoption of a competitive foreign policy reflected negatively the divisive internal condition of Liberal Italy. These central problems, among others, left the Liberal parliamentary regime in a position of tragic weakness when the even more crucial problem of engaging in and waging a great war overtook Italy. The discussion at the session was led by Lynn Case, who pointed out that peaceful institutional changes in pre-1914 Germany faced either the gravest constitutional obstacles or could have been achieved by illegality and force.

At the session on "British Labor between the Wars," H. L. Beales of the London School of Economics presided. Charles L. Mowat of the University of Chicago spoke on "The Taming of Labor, 1918-1929." His main emphasis was on the process of social reconstruction after the First World War, and he demonstrated how domestic peace was maintained despite the unrest of Labor in the years down to 1921. This was partly due to the statesmanship and moderation of trade union leaders, partly to Lloyd George's cleverness in playing for time, partly to the refusal of the public to succumb to panic. After 1921 the responsibility of the Labor movement grew steadily, as its leaders became committed to the slow, evolutionary approach characteristic of the Labor government, which came into power much later, in 1945.

Henry R. Winkler of Rutgers University, in his paper, "The Emergence of a Labor Foreign Policy, 1918-1929," also pointed to the growing responsibility of the Labor movement. Like Mowat, he stressed the unrest and bitterness of the immediate postwar period and went on to comment on the work of men like J. R. Clynes and Arthur Henderson and the role of the Advisory Committee on International Questions in the curbing of foreign policy extremism and the development of the temperate "League of Nations" policy attempted by the Labor government of 1929-1931. Winkler rejected the notion that Labor's foreign policy was "socialist," pointing out the essential similarity to the Liberal approach of the views held by the moderate leaders of the party in this decade.

On the whole the two commentators and the chairman agreed with the main lines of analysis of the two speakers. Richard W. Lyman of Washington University noted that perhaps both speakers had neglected to give full justice to the position of Ramsay MacDonald during the 1920's, and he re-emphasized the experience of office in 1924 as a major element in Labor's growing moderation on

domestic and foreign issues. James L. Godfrey of the University of North Carolina felt that the turning of postwar unrest might still better be considered "Black Friday" of 1921 rather than 1919, as had been suggested by one of the speakers. He also underlined the need for further study of the relationships between the budget and approaches to foreign policy.

The Modern European History Section of the American Historical Association held its luncheon conference with Hans Kohn of the City College, New York, in the chair. Jacques Barzun of Columbia University gave a stimulating address on "Some Problems of Cultural History" in which he discussed the role and function of the cultural historian. In defining the task of the cultural historian he distinguished it from that of the intellectual historian or of the anthropologist. The cultural historian is concerned with elaborating what constitutes the particular "style" of a historical period.

In the session on "Modern Far Eastern History," Thomas C. Smith, Stanford University, in his paper on "Old Values and New Techniques in Japan" indicated how the peasantry provided a social base for successful industrialization which at the same time permitted the state "to impose the worship of old gods upon the entire nation." Albert Feuerwerker, Harvard University, showed how the system of "Official-Supervision-and-Merchant-Management in China's Nineteenth Century Industrialization" permitted grasping officials still to impede the constructive functioning of merchant-entrepreneurs. Mrs. Nikki R. Keddie, University of California, Berkeley, discussed the meagerness of "Industrialization in Iran" as due mainly to regressive social factors as well as the Western impact. A lively discussion led by J. C. Hurewitz of Columbia, Kwang-ching Liu of the U.N. Secretariat, and W. W. Lockwood of Princeton emphasized the manifold impediments, both to private entrepreneurship and to healthy modernization by the official class, posed by traditional social patterns. These impediments in Japan did not inhibit modernization in industry but let it be used for outworn ideals; in China and Iran they definitely impeded modernization itself. The discussion formulated no clear pattern applicable to all Asia, but depressingly similar difficulties appeared evident in the experience of all three countries. John K. Fairbank, Harvard University, was chairman of the session.

At the luncheon meeting of the Conference on Asiatic History, Professor L. Carrington Goodrich of Columbia University read a paper entitled "Westerners and Central Asians in Yüan China." Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette commented on the paper. A decision was taken to establish the Conference as a permanent body for the purpose of serving as a focal point for historians concerned with Asia and enabling them to widen their horizons by the comparative consideration of problems in more than one of the conventional geographic subdivisions of the vast continent. Professor Woodbridge Bingham of the University of California, Berkeley, was elected president and Professor J. C. Hurewitz of Columbia University, secretary.

V

Meetings devoted to the field of American history were, as usual, both numerous and varied. A session on "Integrating the History of the Americas" was devoted to a discussion of the latest progress reports on the History of America project, which was launched in 1951 by the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, with the aid of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. In an introductory statement the chairman, Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania, described the project briefly and explained why only the first two of its three major divisions (Colonial Period, National Period, and Indian or Indigenous Phase) would be discussed in detail at this session.

In the first of three papers J. H. Parry of Harvard University concluded that the report on the Colonial Period, prepared by Silvio Zavala of Mexico, "is a *tour de force*, an orderly, symmetrically balanced mass of information and ideas of great value and interest," but that "the disunity of the subject matter is, in many cases, concealed rather than resolved." The second paper, by Robert N. Burr and Roland D. Hussey of the University of California, Los Angeles, analyzed the report on the National Period by Charles C. Griffin of Vassar College. The authors found that the report had many merits and made a real effort to define problems and clarify assumptions but that it failed to present adequately and consistently "a sound unifying principle or principles for a History of America." In the last paper, "The Progress and Prospects of the Project," Waldo G. Leland of Washington, D.C., described the fundamental assumption of the project as sound and its timeliness as "obvious and striking"; offered comments on it which he hoped would "not be interpreted as adverse criticisms, but rather as suggestions for future consideration"; and concluded that "the work already done will inspire historians to undertake experiments in synthesis and in comparative studies of American phenomena."

Leading the discussion, John Francis Bannon, S.J., of St. Louis University stressed the influence of Europe as "the one sound unifying theme for a History of the Americas," and Harold E. Davis of the American University expressed concern over the subsidiary roles assigned to Negro and Indian history in the reports.

Comments from the floor were then made by Vera Brown Holmes of Smith College, Charles C. Griffin of Vassar College, Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin, and John W. Caughey of the University of California, Los Angeles.

"Publishing the Papers of Great Men" was the theme of a session at which Walter Muir Whitehill of the Boston Athenaeum presided. Papers were read by Julian P. Boyd of Princeton, editor of the Papers of Thomas Jefferson; Leonard W. Labaree of Yale, editor of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin; Lyman H. Butterfield, editor of the Adams Papers; and Wilmarth S. Lewis of Yale, editor of the Correspondence of Horace Walpole. Boyd and Lewis summarized with pre-

cision and wit the results of many years' experience, giving particular attention to problems of annotation. Labaree told of his plans for collecting Franklin papers, while Butterfield, who has even more recently taken over his editorial duties, gave an account of his preliminary exploration of the great body of documents preserved by the Adams Manuscript Trust. If these four speakers may be considered a fair sample, the session indicated that editors of great documentary projects develop singular qualities of quickness of mind, literary skill, and humor.

At the conclusion of the papers, the chairman asked Philip M. Hamer to give an informal account of the work of the National Historical Publications Commission and of other editorial projects that are now under way. Waldo G. Leland recalled the earlier efforts of the American Historical Association and of J. Franklin Jameson in similar directions.

A comprehensive paper on "The Urban Dimension of Western Life, 1790-1830," by Richard C. Wade of the University of Rochester stimulated a lively discussion. Two of the commentators, Mrs. Constance McL. Green of American University and Joe L. Norris of Wayne University, felt that Wade was a bit hasty in detecting urban characteristics in the earliest beginnings of Pittsburgh, Detroit, and St. Louis, yet both joined the third commentator, Bayrd Still of New York University, in endorsing Wade's emphasis on the rapidity of the commercial and cultural growth of western cities. Wade's analysis of the widespread speculation in urban sites and of the intense rivalry between competing towns was amplified by several comments from the audience, but the clear distinction he saw between the social customs of the urban and rural frontiers was questioned by two hearers. Blake McKelvey, Rochester City Historian and chairman of the session, suggested that such minor criticisms of Mr. Wade's thesis would disappear if his title was fully apprehended, for it clearly implied a unified society which because of its commercial economy had urban as well as rural dimensions; he agreed with Wade's conclusion that a full understanding of the history of the West (as of American history generally) required a closer study of its urban development and invited all interested in such research to attend an informal luncheon of the Urban History Group at which the discussion would be continued.

The main paper at the session on "Romanticism in the United States" was Perry Miller's "The Romantic Dilemma in American Nationalism." It defined the contradiction between the faith in nature implied in the American's national pride and the faith in the Bible inherited from the Puritan past. The Romantic dilemma in America is thus something more than the underlying opposition of primitivism *versus* civilization; it is complicated by emotions having to do with patriotism, art, this country's relation to Europe, and the peculiar moral passion with which nineteenth-century Americans carried out the dictates of utilitarianism.

This presentment was generally approved by the commentators, despite disagreement on details. Stow S. Persons, State University of Iowa, argued that the conflict described by Miller is universal, not peculiar to nineteenth-century America; and he regretted that the "wilderness symbol" had been merely referred to,

not analyzed. Analysis would show that its use implied a sense of national security and well-being.

Ralph H. Gabriel of Yale was of the opinion that Miller had correctly described a state of mind but had not shown its place in the entire culture of the period. Far from being characteristic of early nineteenth-century America, the view that civilization is a negative force destroying the positive givenness of nature was a minority view. The dominant mood of the time was sanguine, trusting in progress, liberal and democratic in politics, and consequently committed to civilization as a positive force. Gabriel referred to the work of Henry Nash Smith on "the garden myth" and to the Turner thesis about the "forest origin" of American democracy as proof that American Romanticism was a late offshoot of a Newtonian determinism applied to man and his works.

Edgar P. Richardson of the Detroit Institute of Arts found most persuasive Miller's contention that the American dream of greatness was justified on ethical and religious grounds, not practical and material. This poetic vision of ourselves, he added, was noticed by most foreign visitors, who tended to admire our material progress much more than our spiritual aspirations. Yet the advent of Romanticism is unmistakably embodied in our plastic arts. Classical painting, statuary, and architecture were quite suddenly replaced by the idolization of nature in her grandiose, mysterious, or smiling moods. Few of the representations suggest any melancholy. On the whole the source of the identification with nature is the sense of boundlessness, which is related to that of religious transcendence.

"The Republican Party: A Centennial Retrospect" was the subject of a session presided over by Leland D. Baldwin of the University of Pittsburgh. In the first paper Glyndon G. Van Deusen of the University of Rochester examined "The Foundations of the Republican Party." He pointed out how the 1850's was a time of political flux and how and why stimuli to reorganization were primarily sectional in character rather than national. The real difficulties in the way of forming a new party were overcome by the excitement that swept the country as a result of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The paper then analyzed some individual leaders of the movement and the character of the movement in various states of the East and West.

Vincent P. De Santis of the University of Notre Dame, in a paper "The Republican Party Revisited, 1876-1896," challenged a number of the traditional concepts of the character of the party during that period. Among other things he doubted that it was as conservative as represented and that it was the hireling of business; moreover it did not, as frequently represented, give up in 1877 the struggle to crack the Democratic South. Everett Walters of Ohio State University followed with some brief prepared comments, chiefly making application of points the speakers had made. The comments from the floor were directed largely to an examination of the moral reasons for the formulation of the Republican party.

Louis H. Arky, University of Florida, presided over a session on aspects of the American Federation of Labor in its early days, around the turn of the cen-

ture. Bernard Mandel, Fenn College, Cleveland, discussed Samuel Gompers and his leadership in the organization, indicating that often Mr. Gompers was ahead of the A.F.L. membership on social issues. These included his advocacy of industrial unionism, organizing the unskilled, and including Negro labor in A.F.L. locals on equal status. But, contended Mandel, because of the prejudice of such conservative unions as the Railroad Brotherhoods, whom Gompers wished to cultivate, and the usual desire of any leader to hold power, Gompers yielded to the principle of craft autonomy and so is remembered largely for his pragmatism. Delber McKee, Westminster College, discussed "The A.F.L. and American Foreign Policy, 1886-1912." Once again the theme indicated the progressive intentions of the A.F.L., this time in the matter of sympathizing with colonial peoples, but its taking the road of least resistance in the face of practical politics. However, McKee indicated that the A.F.L. opposed the expansion of American armed forces in those years and was against the annexation of Hawaii and other new possessions, as well as using the Spanish American war for imperialist reasons. The Reverend Henry J. Browne, the Catholic University of America, commented that he was forced to mix the "pink with the black." Browne objected to Mandel's "gratuitous" additions to his paper, especially since the new material dealt largely with an alleged weakening of the labor movement as a result of Gompers' permission of "Jim Crowism." Browne also reminded Mandel that he was making the usual error in evaluating Gompers by mistaking his sound judgment for "opportunism." John Hall, University of Baltimore, commented on both papers; he pointed out that it is possible more accurately to determine what occupied the minds of the rank and file of union members by research into their actions rather than resorting to published "Proceedings," a practice he felt McKee had relied on too heavily. A meeting of the Labor Historians Association was held immediately afterwards.

A session on "The New Deal," under the gracious and distinguished chairmanship of Madame Frances Perkins, featured a survey by Frank Freidel of Stanford University of "Memoirs and Diaries of the New Deal Era." Calling attention to the unprecedented number of diaries, autobiographies, and memoirs that have flowed from the pens of those who had some relationship, great or humble, to the administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Freidel emphasized the value of such accounts for the student of the period. Because Roosevelt himself kept no diary and was not prone to document his own deeds and motivations, the accounts of those around him are indispensable to an understanding of the man and his times. He cautioned that each account, because it tells the story from a limited and often highly personal perspective, must be used with care, but illustrated how these diverse accounts—when taken together—could be made to reveal a coherent and acceptable story.

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., of Harvard, after expressing his agreement with Freidel's paper, commented on the significance of the New Deal to students of administrative history. Granting that Roosevelt did not follow the maxims of

modern administrative theory, he suggested that the unconventional methods of the President called forth the energy and imagination of his subordinates and that the net accomplishments more than justified the confusion, intrigue, and squabbling that often resulted. He also expressed doubt about the possibility of attempting to cope with the masses of materials that document recent history by "team research." The best history "is written, not by committees, but by men or women brooding over materials and ideas in quiet rooms by themselves."

The other comment on Freidel's paper was made by Eric F. Goldman of Princeton. While expressing enthusiasm for Freidel's paper, Goldman offered two qualifications. One was that Freidel had probably underemphasized the importance of memoirs and diaries for the New Deal period in view of the unique habits of Roosevelt as President. The other was that Freidel had perhaps overemphasized the extent to which contemporary historians can arrive at the most meaningful structure for a given period.

In answer to a number of questions from the floor, Miss Perkins delighted the audience with pungent reminiscences of her work in the New York State administration of Al Smith and in the New Deal. Her comments included insights into the administrative ideas of Smith, the character of Harold Ickes, the Hopkins-Ickes feud, and the general tone of the New Deal.

VI

Altogether some twenty-one historical societies, associations, and groups held meetings jointly with the American Historical Association. Most of these organizations arranged formal sessions dealing with topics related to their fields of interest; a few held only luncheon or dinner meetings. The reports that follow summarize these sessions, taking the societies in alphabetical order.

The theme of the program arranged for the Agricultural History Society by Albert V. House of Harpur College was "The Impact of Urban Growth on Nearby Agriculture in the United States." Eric Brunger, of the Buffalo College for Teachers, presented a paper on "Dairying and Urban Development in New York State, 1850-1900." The second half of the nineteenth century saw butter- and cheese-making transformed from a household to a commercial industry, as the creamery and cheese factory replaced the kitchen churn and cheese press. By 1900, with improved facilities for transportation and handling, local creameries and small cheese factories were giving way increasingly to the marketing of fluid milk directly to the larger cities. Similar trends on a nation-wide scale were noted by John C. Ellickson, agricultural economist of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, in a study of "Technological Change and Farming on the Metropolitan Fringe." Mr. Ellickson outlined technological changes which have resulted in revolutionizing food production and marketing since 1800. Successive steps in the development of transportation and refrigeration have blazed the trail to the modern super market, and pushed the frontier of production farther and farther away from urban centers. "A Case Study of Urban Impact on Rural Society,

Vermont, 1840-1880," was presented by T. D. Seymour Bassett of Earlham College. Conditions were favorable for social change in nineteenth-century Vermont. It was clearly rural in 1840, but subsequently urban influences penetrated its hills and valleys—the encroachment of city capital, railroads, mills, political reform, the beginning of the resort business, and popular education through newspapers which encouraged imitation of city ways. While the three papers were varied in content and approached the general topic from different points of view, they corroborated each other in essential points and dovetailed in a unique way to give a balanced, though obviously incomplete, picture of a significant phase of agricultural history. Carl R. Woodward of the University of Rhode Island was chairman of the session.

The luncheon conference of the Agricultural History Society had Charles A. Burmeister, president-elect of the society, presiding. The membership and guests at the meeting offered a wider representation of interests than usual since several outstanding scholars in English and medieval history were in attendance to hear the interesting talk by Nelson F. McCann, agricultural adviser to the British Embassy, on "Laxton Manor: The Open Field System in the Twentieth Century." The real core of his message was built around twenty colored slides showing the operations of the manor. It was somewhat startling to see and hear about the medieval agricultural production routine which until very recent times was able to compete on favorable terms with other types of farm land use in England. The area is now owned by the British government and supervised as a museum by the National Land Commission. However, it is still planted and operated on the basis of individual tenant contracts. The speaker stressed that the future of Laxton Manor would be determined largely by the energy and "manorial cooperation" of the tenants.

"The Northeast: A Region?" was the subject of the session of the American Association for State and Local History presided over by Albert B. Corey, New York State Historian. John H. Powell of Philadelphia presented a paper entitled "The Mid-Atlantic States in American Development" and was followed by George Pierson of Yale with a paper on "The Obstinate Concept of New England: A Study in Denudation." Edward C. Kirkland of Bowdoin led the discussion.

While Powell found it impossible to prove that there is no Mid-Atlantic region on the ground that it has probably been as much a region as either of the other two oldest areas of British America, he found in the area no organic unity, nothing basic to a culture which could be regarded as universal. Diversity, if anything, has been the key to this so-called region which has no geographical, or, for that matter, any other kind of unity. He concluded that all the past history of the diverse local elements of the area has led to the extinction of those special qualities which set it apart from other regions.

Pierson explained his suggestive subtitle by stating that New England has literally been denuded of many of the features which had characterized it as a region. It is not so much a region geographically as it is an optical illusion. It is

not a static community but a land of violent change; its Yankees no longer form a majority of the population; its institutions have become national in character rather than local. Yet people still talk and write and act as if there *were* a real New England. The concept of New England still persists because the spirit of Yankee independence and the Puritan conscience still walk abroad in the land.

The session of the American Catholic Historical Association heard two papers on religious changes during the sixteenth century. Garrett Mattingly of Columbia University presided. Speaking on "The Reformation and the End of the Middle Ages," Lacey Baldwin Smith of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology suggested that the causes of the Reformation usually proposed are inadequate to account for its rapid and widespread triumph and that this can only be explained by a study of religious psychology around 1500. As characteristic of the then prevalent temper, he instanced Luther's despair and sense of alienation from God as long as he depended on formalized religion and his joyful confidence when he discovered the promise of salvation by faith. In the same way the Reformation replaced a mood of pessimism with one of hope.

Oscar Halecki of Fordham University, discussing "The Catholic Restoration in Poland," emphasized the role of Sigismund II in facilitating the triumph of the Counter Reformation by his own obedience to Rome and by the example he set of patience and reliance on education and persuasion rather than on force. Professor Halecki produced a number of hitherto unused documents from the Vatican archives in support of his views.

In commenting on Smith's paper Wallace K. Ferguson of New York University ventured to doubt that Luther was much more characteristic of his age than Erasmus, for instance. He doubted also that pre-Reformation Europe was as saturated in pessimism as has been sometimes represented. Bohdan Chudoba of Iona College pointed out that both speakers had attributed religious changes to psychological rather than to political or economic factors, and that the phenomena of conversion had been as conspicuous in Counter-Reformation Bohemia and Poland as in Luther's Germany.

The American Jewish Historical Society in a session appropriately titled "Jews in America: A Tercentenary Appraisal," held its first joint meeting with the American Historical Association. Salo W. Baron, president of the society, was chairman of the session.

Richard B. Morris of Columbia discussed "Civil Liberties in Early America." In the colonial period each dissenting sect, each minority, religious or ethnic, acted as a catalyst to accelerate demands for equal rights and humanitarian legislation. The Jews had an impact far beyond their numbers on the course of civil liberties. Where the Jews gained the equal protection of the laws other minorities were likely to profit thereby. This is seen particularly in the field of economic life, where the Jews were seeking rights to engage both in domestic business and in overseas trade and to bring about a more liberal interpretation of the British Acts of Trade. It is also evident in the area of due process, of rights to a fair trial, and

in the courageous stand of individual Jews in refuting imputations either of group or of individual disloyalty during the Revolution.

In his paper on "Flight from the Slums" Hyman B. Grinstein of Yeshiva University showed how concentration in slum areas during the period of mass immigration after 1865 led at first to an unprecedented rise of crime and juvenile delinquency in the Jewish ghetto. At the same time the Jew, already attuned to human suffering, deepened his interests in the poor and in the downtrodden. Hence came the desire to create labor unions and lead them on to great heights. The old Jewish ideal of the equality of all men was enhanced in the run-down neighborhoods since the slum in itself served as a great leveler of men. In his flight from the slums the Jew often shed his religious practice and observance. The affiliation of many East European Jews with the Reform movement or with Conservative Judaism, as well as the complete abandonment of religion on the part of many others may be explained at least in some measure by their desire to rise socially. Flight from the slums also brought in its wake a reorganization of the Jewish community and a reshaping of its synagogues and institutions.

The lively discussions which followed the presentation of the papers included observations by Lee M. Friedman, who pointed out that colonial Jews were no more discriminated against by the courts than were other "strangers," and that many of their economic disabilities, too, are explainable by the simple fact that they were not Englishmen. Bertram W. Korn, on the other hand, called for additional investigation concerning the participation of Jews in elections and appointive offices. He also emphasized that we ought to know much more about the social and religious attitudes of the Jewish immigrants before they left their respective countries.

The meeting of the American Military Institute was under the chairmanship of Stefan T. Possony, Georgetown University. The subject of the discussion was "The Role of Air Power in Recent History." In his introductory remarks the chairman deplored the fact that the customary neglect of military history in academic curricula insulates students against knowledge about one of the most important facets of modern life, and that this neglect was beginning to show harmful effects on contemporary democratic society.

Herbert S. Dinerstein, Rand Corporation, discussed air power as it influenced international events during the 1933-1940 period. He showed that the policies of leading nations had been motivated, to a marked degree, by wrong estimates concerning the effectiveness of military aviation and the respective aerial strength relationships of the various air forces.

Brigadier General Dale O. Smith, U.S.A.F., Operations Coordinating Board, described the growth and maturation of air power during World War II, explained the difference of the strategic roles assigned to air power in the European and Asiatic theaters, analyzed the significance of nuclear weapons for the future, and showed that the destructiveness of war is primarily a function of morale rather than of military technology.

Raymond L. Garthoff, also of Rand, explained that, since the death of Stalin, Soviet attitudes to air power have undergone an important change but that they still are lagging behind the more advanced concepts of the United States. The discussion that followed centered on the limitations of air power in ground battle, the multi-service structure of air power, the physical destructiveness and psychological impact of nuclear weapons, the reasons for the frequency of official mis-evaluations of air power, German strategic miscalculations, the inter-relationships between atomic weapons, limited wars and limited war objectives, and the necessity for urban dispersal in the United States.

The session of the American Society of Church History dealt with "Humanistic Elements in American Protestantism." Carl E. Schneider of Eden Theological Seminary presided. Kenneth B. Murdock of Harvard University dealt with "Concepts of Biography and History in American Puritanism" and called attention to the biographical materials in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi* revealing thereby aspects peculiar to the genius of Puritanism. The discussion pointed to the uniqueness of this genre of colonial literature and its similarity, at certain points, with continental Pietism. The paper by Sidney E. Ahlstrom of Yale University on "The Scottish Philosophy: Its Apologetical Role and Its Impact on Christian Thought in America" delineated the features of the Scottish philosophy as formulated and propagated by Francis Hutcheson, Thomas Reid, and Dugald Stewart and appraised its significance for religious thought in America. In the various schools of orthodoxy, it was pointed out, a static anthropocentric system arose alien to the genius of either Edwardsianism or Calvinism and ill prepared to withstand the criticism to which it was subjected in the later nineteenth century.

The luncheon meeting of the American Society of Church History was held at the Roosevelt Hotel with K. S. Latourette of Yale University presiding. Carl E. Schneider of Eden Seminary gave the presidential address on "The Americanization of August Rauschenbusch." Recently discovered letters of Rauschenbusch were used to show the adaptability of German Pietism to American Puritanism in German-American relations of the mid-nineteenth century. This paper will be published in the March issue of *Church History*.

The American Society for Reformation Research held its session at the Hotel Roosevelt under the chairmanship of Robert H. Fischer, president of the society. The first paper was presented by Melvin E. Pratt, San Mateo College, on "Zwinglian Influences on the Elizabethan Settlement." Cyril C. Richardson of Union College served as critic. An animated discussion concerning the definition of Zwinglianism followed. The second paper was presented by Robert Friedmann, Western Michigan College, on "The Christian Communism of the Hutterite Brethren." Roland H. Bainton of Yale served as critic. The discussion emphasized the similarities and contrasts between the Hutterites, monasticism, and similar movements, especially in Poland.

"Patterns of Modern American Irresponsibility" was the subject of the session of the American Studies Association, presided over by Walter Metzger of Colum-

bia University. Papers were delivered by Eric Lampard of Smith College and Margaret Mead, associate curator of ethnology, American Museum of Natural History.

Lampard made three key assertions: that the current concern for "irresponsibility" stems not so much from an increased flow of "irresponsible" words and deeds as from a growing awareness of a changed situation in which older styles of utterance and action are less adequate; that frequently attacks upon "irresponsibility" represent an effort to narrow the areas open to judgment so as to enlarge the domain of the collective will expressed either by arbitrary pronouncement or mass plebiscite; that irresponsibility, if it can be adequately defined at all, refers to loyalty, not to the conclusions but to the methods of the open society—the use of democratic procedures in a climate of reason and discussion and the assertion of private judgment.

Miss Mead maintained that American responsibility and irresponsibility must be seen against the background of European, especially British, traditions in which responsibility involved a sense of loyalty to the past, custodianship of tradition, and the adoption of a role of authority over the young. Americans are willing to reject past models, to initiate the new rather than to conserve the old. The American rejection of power over persons and emphasis on the appropriateness of altering a situation, rather than changing one's own or anyone else's character, on "fixing" rather than "coping," leads to a type of behavior in which responsibility and loyalty are affixed to an organization rather than in direct person-to-person relationships.

David Donald and Harold C. Syrett, both of Columbia, argued that the patterns envisioned by the speakers were neither historically warranted nor empirically provable, methodological criticisms that were warmly denied by the speakers.

Robert L. Schuyler of Columbia presided over the session of the Conference on British Studies. Mildred Campbell of Vassar read a paper on "British Emigration to the New World, 1772-1775," using data found in the emigration reports for the period. She presented a significant statistical analysis of six thousand people who went to the New World during those years. Most important, she showed the large majority of skilled over unskilled workmen emigrating. In analyzing the background of one thousand emigrants from Yorkshire, she concluded that the majority were farmers, generally of mature years, who were accompanied by their families. Adverting to various sources of unrest that were a factor in occasioning emigration, she stressed the crucial importance of effective propaganda from America in bringing about the decisive step of emigration.

Both commentators, J. Jean Hecht of Smith College and William Willcox of Michigan, complimented Miss Campbell on her excellent use of statistical and local data and on the significance of her findings.

"Early Twentieth Century Social Movements Reviewed" was the theme of the session of the Conference on Latin-American History. The two principal papers and two commentaries dealt more with revolutionary movements than purely social

movements. Milton Vanger, Harvard University, concentrated on the developments in Uruguay during the period of Jose Batlle y Ordóñez' leadership, from approximately 1904 until 1917. Vanger's principal theses were that Batlle was successful in bringing revolutionary economic, political, and social developments to his country because he was able to use existing and traditional political parties, and because of the strength of his own leadership. Both Harris G. Warren of the University of Mississippi and William H. Jeffrey of the University of Maine commented that there were additional causes, primarily economic and ethnic, which encouraged the development. Jeffrey further pointed out that Batlle failed to deal with some of the more pressing and difficult social and economic problems and thereby avoided the alienation of powerful vested interest groups.

The paper presented by George I. Blanksten of Northwestern University was concerned with the effect which Marxism has had on the *Peronismo* in Argentina. After tracing the development of the various Marxist groups, including the Socialists and the Communists, Blanksten analyzed the manner in which Perón has been aided and hindered by Marxist thought and action. He found that in five distinct and important ways, Perón has been aided by Marxist development in the past, and in three distinct ways his position has been weakened by the same political phenomenon. Both Warren and Jeffrey commented on the excellence of Professor Blanksten's presentation and analysis, and generally agreed with his findings. Jeffrey believed that Marxism was not as important in the development of Peronism as were other facets of Argentine history, and pointed specifically to the influence of the army, of fascism, of Hitler, of Franco, of economic problems, and other causes. Charles C. Cumberland of Rutgers University presided over the session.

The luncheon meeting of the Conference on Latin-American History, under the chairmanship of Bailey W. Diffie, the City College, New York, heard a paper by John Gillin of the University of North Carolina on "History and Anthropology in Latin-America." In the absence of Gillin his paper was read by Harry Bernstein of Brooklyn College. Gillin urged that historians and anthropologists coordinate their efforts, especially in dealing with recent social and cultural developments. At its business session the conference announced the award of the first James Alexander Robertson Memorial Prize to C. Harvey Gardiner of Washington University, St. Louis. Samuel Flagg Bemis, Dana G. Munro, and Ricardo Donoso and Mrs. Donoso were honored guests at the luncheon.

"Science and the French Revolution" was the subject of the History of Science session chaired by Franklin L. Baumer of Yale. L. Pearce Williams of Yale, whose topic was "The Organization of Science during the French Revolution," pointed out how the emphasis shifted, in the period from 1789 to 1815, from *laissez faire* to governmental direction in the organization of science, from theoretical to practical science which would speed up production, and from agriculture to industry as Napoleon recognized the importance of the latter as his strongest arm against England. Henry Guerlac, speaking on "The Anatomy of Vandalism,"

described the attack on the old Académie des sciences, whose members were predominantly physical scientists and, politically speaking, constitutional monarchists and Girondists; and its displacement during the Terror by the reorganized Jardin du Roi which emphasized utilitarian science and pitted the Rousseauist view of nature against that of Newton. Paul Beik of Swarthmore in "Some Reflections of the Revolution in Political Science," showed the effect of political experience on men's political ideas during the Revolution; also how the Right as well as the Left bowed to the contemporary prestige of science and justified its cause in terms of "science" as well as other arguments.

The lively discussion that followed the reading of the papers was led by the commentator, Pierre Donzelot, director general of the Ministry of National Education and permanent representative of French universities in the United States. Donzelot raised the central question of whether the Revolution represented a setback to the progress of science in France.

The meeting on "The Corporate Theory of Society and Representation," arranged by the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, had an appeal both to medievalists and to historians of the *ancien régime*, and the attendance went beyond seating facilities. The program was designed to focus on the corporatist description of Western society in the period from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries. This theory, presented in the 1930's by Lousse, Oliver-Martin, and others, was claimed to furnish a new and comparative approach to the study of representative institutions, which (the theory argued) were reflections of a European social structure organized in small and large corporate groups. The papers of the program examined the degree to which the theory gives an adequate and useful description of society and its structural history. R. S. Hoyt of the State University of Iowa, approaching the problem from the standpoint of medieval England, found that the corporatist theory has many things to suggest in its general outlines but breaks down badly when its more detailed corollaries are applied to England's constitutional development; neither the shires nor the organization of parliament fit into the theory, nor does much of the chronology of development. W. F. Church of Brown was critical of the theory as a vehicle for interpreting the constitution and the social history of the Old Regime. Too schematic, the corporatists overstress the homogeneity of "Estates" and neglect the importance of individual rights, as against those of groups, in the legal system of the period; further, the jurists of the Old Regime seem to ignore the essentials of the corporate theory. Detailed comments by G. P. Cuttino of Emory University and F. L. Ford of Harvard tended to enlarge the points of criticism for each period concerned. The greatest value of the program was perhaps to present very clear and useful analyses of a complex theory of historical interpretation which has had an important influence but has received inadequate discussion in this country.

The Lexington Group devoted its session to a discussion of "The Historical Context of the St. Lawrence Seaway." George P. Baker of the Harvard Graduate

School of Business Administration was the chairman, and papers were read by Kenneth Hare, McGill University; David I. Mackie, Eastern Railroads' Presidents' Conference; G. Wallace Chessman, Denison University; and William Willoughby, St. Lawrence University.

At a dinner meeting of the Mediaeval Academy, chaired by Austin P. Evans of Columbia University, Gaines Post of Wisconsin read a paper on "Legists and Canonists: the Humanity of Medieval Legal Science." The speaker pointed out the error of later Humanists in condemning "medieval jurists as barbarians with no classical learning and no ability except in empty verbiage." He showed by numerous examples that they by no means overlooked the cultivation of the *litterae humaniores*, and he argued that their humanity was revealed likewise in their understanding of man and his problems. In this they "were in the stream of development from medieval otherworldliness to the modern emphasis on man and the world." But the chief emphasis of the paper lay in its exposure of the humanity of the legists in their insistence upon the dignity of man and his right to "due process" in the courts. Everyone, except heretics and traitors, "is presumed innocent unless proved guilty"; everyone merits a fair trial in which he may be heard in his own defense. For the presumption of innocence is a principle of the natural law, which no prince, not even the pope, may violate. Though the exception of heretics and traitors from the operation of this principle opened the way to the application of torture and other abuses, its statement was of distinct value. It lies in the direct line of development through Article 39 of Magna Carta to the Bill of Rights in our own Constitution.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association's meeting was devoted to the topic "Immigration—Another Facet," under the chairmanship of Carlton C. Qualey, Carleton College. Theodore Saloutos, University of California, Los Angeles, in his opening paper on "Repatriation and De-Americanization: The Dilemma of the Repatriated Greek American," dealt with the serious problems of readjustment that arose for the Greek American who returned to the retarded agrarian economy of Greece from the advanced industrialized democracy of the United States. Sooner or later the repatriate realized that he had returned to a lower standard of living, political turmoil, insecurity, the dangers of armed invasion, and the endless pleas for aid of poverty-stricken and demanding relatives. Nevertheless, the Greek repatriate remained among the most genuine friends of the United States. George R. Gilkey, Wisconsin State College at La Crosse, in his paper on "Italian Migrations to America: Reaction and Criticism at Home," was concerned primarily with the official and scholarly reaction in Italy to the emigration and returnee problems. This reaction he found to be highly critical of the emigrants for causing acute social problems in Italy, for submitting to degrading exploitation in the United States, and for bringing back to Italy undesirable social attitudes and practices. These criticisms became official policy under Mussolini, but the basic problems of which the migrations were symptomatic remained to be solved. Franklin D. Scott, Northwestern University, dealt with Swedish

governmental concern over the loss to Sweden by emigration. A thorough investigation of the causes of emigration brought out emigrant grievances as to lack of opportunities in Sweden and helped bring about a sweeping social revolution. The eventual return to Sweden of over one fifth of the emigrants brought people filled with new ideas, techniques, and ways of life. Sweden was an example of how emigration acted as a compelling agency for social change. A brief but lively discussion period followed presentation of the papers.

At the dinner meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association a very large number of hearers joined the diners after the meal to listen to the paper of George E. Mowry of the University of California at Los Angeles on "Shall We Keep the Robber Barons?" The paper started with a brief estimate of the case presently being advanced by the business revisionists. Mowry granted that most historians up to now have neglected the role of industry in American life and have, all too frequently, stressed the social evils arising from the Industrial Revolution to the neglect of its enormous benefits. Using Charles A. Beard as an example, he denied, however, that the academic historians were responsible for conceiving or spreading the notion or term of the robber barons. In the second half of his paper Mr. Mowry expressed a fear that present-mindedness motivated business revisionism. Too often its practitioners were more interested in "being apologists for the present than being discoverers of the past." This aspect led the speaker to conclude with a plea for less relativism as a guide to the interpretation of history. The historian should try to uncover the past as past. The quest for objective truth will enable the profession to obtain an enduring public support and will protect the scholar from those political authoritarians of today who seek to make historians "panderers to the present."

The joint session with the National Council for the Social Studies, at which Erling M. Hunt of Columbia University presided, considered three "New Developments in College History and Social Sciences." David Owen analyzed "The Impact of *General Education in a Free Society* on the Harvard History Program." In accordance with general-education aims each undergraduate chooses one of several courses in the social sciences, all concerned with "the Western tradition." All are basically historical. All emphasize reading of original texts and stress essay-writing rather than routine tests. The former History I, substantially revised, is now directed by the Committee on General Education. Despite the uneven preparation of pre-majors and some loss of command of historical facts, the history department notes compensating growth in worth-while skills, and continues to attract majors.

Allen R. Foley described "The 'Great Issues' Course at Dartmouth." Required of all seniors, the one-semester course draws lecturers from a wide range of faculty specialists and leaders in national and international affairs. Discussions, wide reading in newspapers, magazines, and books, individual journals, and examinations provide a common and generally satisfactory intellectual experience for fourth-year students.

George R. Taylor reported stimulating experience with "Problems in American Civilization" at Amherst. A reaction against "fact-centered" teaching, and an effort to encourage intelligent decision-making by sophomores, the interdepartmental course attacks ten or twelve problems, historical or contemporary, and operates through lectures, readings, seminars, panels, individual conferences, and analytical papers in which students take a reasoned stand.

The discussion, led by Jennings B. Sanders of the United States Office of Education and Richard W. Leopold of Northwestern University, explored possibilities and difficulties in adapting elsewhere such offerings as had been described.

The Sheraton Group discussed "Sources of Business Leadership." The chairman was George S. Gibb, of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. A paper by John B. Rae, department of humanities, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, presented results of a study of M.I.T. graduate careers. Statistical evidence was given of an increasing tendency for engineers to move into general administrative positions. Rae warned of the danger of attempting qualitative conclusions from quantitative data but raised questions as to the underlying causes of the trends his analysis revealed. Mable Newcomer of Vassar College devoted her paper to a discussion of professionalization of leadership in the big business corporation, presenting evidence of the increasing prevalence of the professional attitude among business executives. This trend she ascribed to increased size of business units and dispersion of stock ownership. An informal commentary on both papers was made by James Abegglen, who had recently worked with Lloyd Warner of Chicago on a study of business leaders. Both this commentary and discussion from the floor centered around the questionnaire technique employed in the M.I.T. survey and the measures used to identify the professional attitude in business executives. Several historical cases were presented as verifications or exceptions to the theses stated in the papers. Considerable interest was evidenced in the historical aspects of the process of executive recruitment and advancement.

David D. Lloyd, executive director of the Harry S. Truman Library, Inc., discussed plans for the projected library at a luncheon session of the Society of American Archivists presided over by Watt P. Marchman of the Hayes Memorial Library. Reporting that more than half the money needed to establish the library had now been raised, Lloyd discussed general problems relating to presidential papers and explained why it was important that presidential archives be kept intact. He rejected the idea that there should be one central depository for the papers of all Presidents.

"Builders of the New South" was the topic of the session of the Southern Historical Association presided over by David M. Potter of Yale University in the absence of Bell I. Wiley. Oliver H. Orr of the University of North Carolina opened the session with a paper on Charles Brantley Aycock, governor of North Carolina, 1901-1905. Orr credited Aycock with supporting the good roads movement, sponsoring child labor and temperance legislation, and securing

increased appropriations for pensions, charities, and hospitals. His most notable contribution was to public education. Owing largely to his persistent and effective effort the average school term during Aycock's administration was lengthened from fourteen to seventeen weeks; local taxation for schools was greatly extended; 1,015 new schoolhouses were built and enrollment was increased ten per cent. Though an ardent white supremacist, Aycock strongly defended the Negroes' right to vote and share in the state's educational advancement.

The second paper, by Samuel R. Spencer of Davidson College, was devoted largely to an analysis of Booker T. Washington's race relations program. Washington's program, according to Spencer, rested on the conviction that the Negroes' home was permanently in the South and that their advancement required co-operation of southern whites. Hence, Washington rejected political remedies and urged his race to seek economic independence through "industrial" education and development of the traditional American virtues of honesty, hard work, and self-reliance, which procedure he believed would lead eventually to "the highest privileges." Washington's program and methods admittedly had their shortcomings, Spencer stated, but they unquestionably helped prepare his race to wage more effective battles for full rights in our own time.

In leading off the discussion Rayford W. Logan of Howard University questioned the appropriateness of designating Aycock and Washington as builders of the South or their period as new. The South of 1895, in fact, sanctioned white supremacy, he added, and Washington therefore relied primarily upon the friendship of southern whites to ameliorate the plight of Negroes. Aycock, who blatantly proclaimed the doctrine of "perpetual white supremacy" sought through governmental action to improve conditions of both races. When Washington died in 1915, three years after Aycock, white supremacy, according to Logan, was even stronger in the South than twenty years before.

In the open discussion that followed Professor Logan's remarks, reference was made to Aycock's attitude toward the convict lease system, Washington's skillful use of the press, and the opposition of the churches to Washington's Atlanta compromise. Culver Smith of the University of Chattanooga made the point that Washington the educator used educational means for political purposes while Aycock the politician used political means for educational purposes.

VII

The climax of the convention was the annual dinner meeting of the Association held on Wednesday evening in the main ballroom of the Hotel Commodore. The banquet was unusually well attended, and the diners were joined by still larger numbers for the evening's proceedings. Dr. Harry J. Carman, the toastmaster, presented the president of the Association, Merle Curti, whose profound address on "Intellectuals and Other People" has since been published in the January issue of the *Review*.

Boyd Shafer, Executive Secretary of the Association, announced the prize

winners. The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize was awarded to W. C. Richardson, Louisiana State University, for his *Tudor Chamber Administration, 1485-1547* (Louisiana State Press, 1954). Wayne C. Vucinich, Stanford University, received the George Louis Beer Prize for his *Serbia between East and West* (Stanford University Press, 1954), and Robert P. Browder, University of Colorado, received honorable mention for *The Origins of Soviet-American Diplomacy* (Princeton University Press, 1953).

The Albert J. Beveridge Award went to Arthur M. Johnson for his manuscript, "The Development of American Petroleum Pipe Lines: A Study in Enterprise and Public Policy, 1862-1906." Robert E. Brown, Michigan State University, received honorable mention for his study of "Middle Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780."

Subventions from the Carnegie Revolving Fund for the publication of their manuscripts were granted to Edward V. Gulick, Wellesley College ("Europe's Classical Balance of Power") and C. Conrad Wright, Harvard Divinity School ("The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America").

Gerald Carson received the John H. Dunning Prize for his book, *The Old Country Store* (Oxford University Press, 1954). Honorable mention was accorded Howard M. Quint, University of South Carolina, for *The Forging of American Socialism* (University of South Carolina Press, 1953).

The Watumull Prize was divided between W. Norman Brown, University of Pennsylvania, for *The United States and India and Pakistan* (Harvard University Press, 1953) and D. McKenzie Brown, University of California, Santa Barbara, for *The White Umbrella* (University of California Press, 1953).

As this report is brought to a close, the Committee on Program would like to record its appreciation of the efforts of the hundreds of individuals on the program and behind the scenes whose co-operation was responsible for such measure of success as the annual meeting enjoyed. To those whose favorite fields were missing from the proceedings, or who found the only two sessions in which they were interested scheduled at the same time, or who were unable to find even standing room at an attractive meeting—indeed to all those whom we failed—we express our regrets.

Rutgers University

RICHARD P. McCORMICK

The Year's Business, 1954

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1954

A year ago I appeared before you firm in my belief that the Association, founded and led by wise men of good will for sixty-nine years, had made remarkable contributions to historical scholarship, was in sound and healthy condition. As I have studied and reflected in Study Room 274 of the Library of Congress Annex

this conviction has deepened. In this, our seventieth year, we may say that the foundations have been well laid. It is for us to build a superstructure of equal quality.

There are tasks for us ahead. But as a historian, let me first turn my attention to what has been done this past year. I first turn your attention to the work of our committees, to the men who carry on much of the far-reaching activity of the Association. Some of the committees do an extraordinary amount of work for us, for history and the profession. I wish it were possible to reward them beyond a mention in the Executive Secretary's report and a cold "thank you" letter. But in most cases the reward is in the service they do for the cause of Clio. We can only hope that Clio's smile and the twinkle in her eye is enough, for what historian is not her ardent follower.

This year six committees reported awards of prizes and publications of books. These awards will be announced tonight at the annual dinner. All the prize committees report unusual interest in the awards and difficult decisions among many worthy books and manuscripts. These are productive years for historical works.

For the Adams Prize Committee, Professor Lowell Ragatz states that no less than twenty-four books were submitted, against only seven in the last competition in 1952. This amazing number of entries may reflect the fact that the Council last year restored a monetary stipend of \$200 but, far more, it reveals the well-directed publicity given the prize by the committee. The Adams Committee, incidentally, operated without expense to the Association. Professor Oron J. Hale, in his summary of the George Louis Beer Prize Committee work, points out that he also notified publishers of the terms of the award. His committee received sixteen books. For the publications of the Carnegie Revolving Fund six manuscripts were submitted, this number being smaller than last year's eleven. The quality, however, was excellent and the manuscripts, for a change, were all presented in good condition. The Carnegie Revolving Fund has published thirty-four books in the twenty-seven years of its existence, an amazing record. As Professor Raymond Stearns of the University of Illinois, the committee chairman, and I have suggested, it is now time to look for additional funds, the cash balance being down to about \$6000 and even increased royalties never affording the publication of our annual volume. Professor Stearns is now at work on a summary of the committee's work through the years, a summary which we should take to one of the foundations. Unfortunately most foundations have shown little interest in contributions for printing.

The new chairman of the Albert J. Beveridge Award Committee, John Tate Lanning of Duke, tells us that his committee is now notifying 250 American universities of the terms of the Beveridge Award, 170 more than were previously notified. As a result, the committee received thirteen manuscripts. It will tonight make public an award and an honorable mention, both of which will provide for publication. The committee has decided upon one change in its rules. In the future it will accept "only the first or second book-length manuscript of the younger scholar." In our prize committees, it might be added, the trend is to

favor the younger men. The Beveridge Committee has also recommended a change of publisher, and negotiations are proceeding.

The Dunning Prize Committee, headed by Professor David Potter of Yale, received thirty-five entries, and selection among them proved difficult. The cash award of \$140 for this prize is much too small. The Association might well look into ways and means of increasing it. For the Watumull Prize, now awarded biennially, Professor Taraknath Das announces that the \$500 award will be divided between the authors of two excellent books. You will, I am certain, agree that all the awards involve a tremendous quantity of reading and correspondence. But so long as Clio smiles, we historians will be willing to give of our own precious time.

The Association's activities are varied indeed. We not only award prizes, we carry on historical work of an almost infinite variety. The Executive Secretary often must be regarded as a practicing midwife of historical production. A useful series of publications is that of American legal records financed by the Littleton-Griswold fund. The committee, composed of lawyers and historians, is again active under the leadership of the attorney and historian, Edward Dumbauld of Uniontown, Pennsylvania. This year it published the *County Court Records of Accomack-Northampton, Virginia, 1632-1640*, edited by Dr. Susie Ames of Randolph-Macon Woman's College. It hopes soon to have a volume ready on Prince Georges County, Maryland. Under the chairmanship of Professor Edgar L. Erickson of the University of Illinois, the Committee on Documentary Reproduction has reproduced on microfilm a tremendous quantity of documents. Operating with no funds from the Association this committee has for several years been extremely active, principally in Europe but also over the world. As a result American historians have, if we may use an accurate but well-worn cliché, rich new mines of information as close as their libraries.

Last year the Council of the Association agreed to establish an ad hoc committee for a revision of the well-known *Guide to Historical Literature*. A committee of seven from the major fields of history, with Dr. George Howe as chairman, has been at work upon a plan. It has agreed that the *Guide* should be completely revised in a single volume. As the projected volume will be substantial and intricate, this committee will need substantial funds for editorial work and perhaps publication. The Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government has been helpful this year in the preparation of the *Annual Report*, the *Proceedings*, and the *Writings on American History*. Its chairman, Wood Gray of George Washington, reports that the *Writings* volume for 1950, now photolithed instead of printed, will soon be ready for distribution. It should be noted that the index to the *Writings*, 1903-1941, is now completely typed in 4,389 pages. For our publications of this kind the funds are limited, our Smithsonian appropriation being only \$8000 annually or slightly more than enough for one photolithed volume of the *Writings*. For the index, if and when it is published, it will probably be necessary to charge members and institutions who wish copies. Copies of the

1949 *Writings* and the 1952 *Proceedings* have been sent to all members requesting them in the questionnaire sent with the 1953 program and to all members who have requested them since that time. A limited number of copies are still available from the Association, and all United States senators and representatives have five copies of each available for distribution to their constituents.

It is the place here to mention that work is proceeding for new editions of the British bibliographies (Gross, Read, and Davies), and that we are looking into the "gap" between the Evans and Roorbach bibliographies of American writings for 1800-1820. We are always perilously close to the limit of our financial resources on bibliographical enterprises, even though the Matteson Fund is producing nearly \$4000 a year. Printing costs have become astronomical.

Our delegate, Charles Taylor of Harvard, to the American Council of Learned Societies communicates both good and bad news. He informs us that work on the second supplementary volume of the *DAB* is proceeding under one of our distinguished members, Professor R. L. Schuyler. He reports also that the A.C.L.S. is active in many fields, for example, in interdisciplinary co-operation in regard to teaching. He believes, as do many of us, that the A.C.L.S. richly deserves more support than it now obtains. The A.C.L.S., however, like our own Commission on Social Studies, was under attack by the House Committee to Investigate Tax Exempt Foundations, which claimed that it dominated American scholarship. The A.C.L.S. reply, which the House Committee did not hear because it closed its public hearings before the foundations and societies were to appear, was an excellent review of the history, aims, and accomplishments of the A.C.L.S. It was also a forthright statement of the need for freedom of study in a democratic society. As Professor Taylor remarks, the members of our Association "know too little about the work and meaning of the A.C.L.S." The reply of the A.C.L.S. would be a good introduction. Financial difficulties also continue to plague the A.C.L.S. It can no longer grant fellowships for study in the humanities. It needs all the support we can give it.

Our senior representative to the Social Science Research Council, Dean Roy Nichols of Pennsylvania, finds that the "year has been a notable one in the relationship between the historians on the S.S.R.C. and their fellows." It saw the fruition of several years' work in the publication of the Social Science Research Council Bulletin 64, *The Social Sciences in Historical Study*. Done under the chairmanship of Professor Thomas Cochran of the University of Pennsylvania, it may be destined to gain the renown of Bulletin 54. At Princeton in October, 1953, a group of fourteen historians met with Pendleton Herring of the S.S.R.C. to give the Council advice on "next steps." It may be that an account of this meeting will soon be published. For the National Historical Publications Commission one of our two delegates, Julian Boyd, is able to report remarkable progress. Much of this progress is summed up in the report *A National Program for the Publication of Historical Documents* (Government Printing Office, 1954, 50 cents). As members of the Association know, there are indeed significant accomplishments toward

the publication of the papers of famous Americans such as Jefferson, Franklin, and the Adams family.

I can report progress, too, in other widely different interests of the Association. Our representative to the Committee on Renaissance Studies, Wallace Ferguson of New York University, reports "mission accomplished." The Renaissance Society of America was founded on January 30, 1954. Professor Thomas Cochran, our delegate to the National Records Management Council, notes that this Council enjoyed the best year in its history. Summarizing the year for the magazine *Social Education*, Robert Riegel of Dartmouth, our representative, happily declares that more subject-matter articles are being published and that the reviews of books have improved. As a result of a new agreement with the National Council of Social Studies we no longer wield any control, even nominal, over the finances of *Social Education*. It is now able to take care of itself financially. We continue, however, to have a voice in its editorial policies. Our own Board of Trustees continues to approve of the investments made for us by the Fiduciary Trust Company of New York. We are fortunately able to report that the chairman, Arthur Page, will continue to serve us.

Under the leadership of one of the Association's oldest and most active members, Waldo Leland, the Committee on International Relations held a meeting in Washington in May. Its interests range from the International Congress of Historical Sciences and the coming Rome Congress to the History of America project of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History. The *American Historical Review* has from time to time given a good deal of attention to international historical activities. The committee urges, and we agree, that we should do more. Our delegate to the International Congress of Historical Sciences, Professor Donald McKay of Harvard, has done yeoman work this past year in preparation for the Rome Congress of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. He went to Lausanne, Switzerland, in June for the meeting of the Bureau and he has been extremely busy throughout the year with correspondence concerning the papers and reports to be given at Rome. Fuller accounts of the plans for the Congress than we have time for here have regularly appeared in the *Review*. American scholars will participate in the preparation of ten of the thirty-five reports and will present some twenty papers, an excellent representation, far the most prominent in the history of the Congress.

This brief account of the work of our committees and delegates does not do them full justice but there are other developments to report.

The membership of the Association has increased slightly, from 6,094 to 6,135. The finances of the Association, as you have heard Dr. Buck say, are satisfactory. We, like everyone else, are constantly faced with rising costs. This year, for example, because of new postal regulations our postage costs will rise perhaps \$500 as we must pay first-class mail charges on all copies of the *Review* returned because of the failure of members to notify us of change of address and because we must pay (no longer being able to use government frank) for all copies of the *Proceed-*

ings and *Writings* mailed to members. It is understood that we must practice careful economy but we must not economize in ways that will strangle our activities.

One of the Executive Secretary's more pleasant activities is worth mention. I have gone to Princeton for a conference on the relation of the social sciences to history sponsored by the S.S.R.C., to Rye, New York, for the annual meeting of the secretaries of A.C.L.S. societies, to the Mississippi Valley meeting at Madison, to the meeting of the archivists at Williamsburg, and to the meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Columbia, S. C. I have also visited the universities of Johns Hopkins, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Arkansas, Illinois, Ohio State, Duke, and North Carolina, as well as the colleges of Hamline, Macalester, and St. Thomas in St. Paul. On these trips my aim has been to listen and learn, to become further acquainted with historians and the problems facing the profession, hoping in this way to make our Association and our *Review* as helpful and representative as possible. I have talked not only to faculty members but also to numerous graduate students. One notable conclusion is that the aims and objectives of historians east, west, and south are remarkably similar, any regional differences notwithstanding. We are one breed, one profession. It is relevant, by way of an aside, to note that these visits have resulted, among other things, in new names for the file of reviewers for the *AHR*. I might add that I intend to visit other institutions, invitations forthcoming, in the future.

Two possible foundation grants have especially interested the headquarters of the Association this year. These might be termed "small grants-in-aid of research," and a grant for a "House of Studies" for scholars doing research in Washington. But until progress can be reported, no further mention need be made of them. About 130 fellowships and grants of varied nature were given to historians this past year by the Ford and Guggenheim Foundations, the Social Science Research Council, and under the terms of the Fulbright Act. There were, of course, additional grants by other agencies.

The single most time-consuming activity of the year resulted from the investigations of the House Committee on Tax Exempt Foundations. At the request of this committee and its investigators, our office had to supply in great detail information concerning the activities and relationships of the Association since the year 1920. Because the investigators required, for example, data concerning all publications and reports and prize awards (including chairmen of committees) since 1920, because it was advisable for the Executive Secretary to attend such meetings of the committee as were open to the public, and because a report had to be prepared in reply to the committee's allegations, our headquarters staff had to expend considerable effort and time which might have been devoted to worthwhile historical activities. Unfortunately, the public hearings of the committee were stopped before the foundations and learned societies had a chance to make open replies to the various allegations.

The Executive Secretary, after consulting the Council, presented a sworn

statement for the record. In this statement the mistaken allegations of the House Committee were factually denied. The House Committee staff, picking one sentence out of context in the 6,307 pages of the sixteen volumes of the Commission on Social Studies, had implied that the Commission on Social Studies, as part of a conspiracy, had made a recommendation concerning the "end of laissez-faire," and that there was an "interlock" among the foundations and "accessory agencies" such as the American Historical Association. The facts were and are that the A.H.A. had neither the power nor the desire to approve of the volumes published by the Commission on Social Studies, and that the commission did not recommend what it was declared to have recommended. President Herbert Hoover said in 1922 (*American Individualism*, pp. 10-11) and in 1934 repeated (*The Challenge to Liberty*, p. 51), "Laissez-faire has been dead in America for generations—except in the books of economic history." The commission, describing conditions of the late 1920's and early 1930's, made a similar observation in the last of its sixteen volumes published in 1934, not as a recommendation but under the heading "Necessarily Conditioning Factors in American Life." The commission asked for "the attainment and spread of accurate knowledge . . . so that all choices may be made with reason . . .," and it desired "unremitting emphasis on the spirit of science and scholarship, liberty of thought and expression, freedom of press and platform, and tolerant study and consideration of the most diverse ideas. . . ." These statements were not mentioned by the House committee. Our reply in 1954 ended with the phrase "freedom is the first requisite." From this stand we will not retreat.

Increasing attacks these past years on "intellectuals" have led many of us to examine again our basic objectives and to think how we might more effectively popularize the values of history and historical study without cheapening and vulgarizing. We are not a political organization but a learned society with interest in the profession and practice of historical research, writing, and teaching. At the same time we cannot, we must not, ignore the need of our society for the spur of intellectual guidance, for the depth of understanding that can come from learning of the past experiences of men, from our specialty. As the foregoing survey of our activities makes abundantly clear, we have been and are taking steps in the direction both of our own interest and the interest of our society. We are now, for example, studying our relation, as we have done several times in the past, to teaching in the schools. This year Professor Sidney Painter of Johns Hopkins has headed a fine committee composed of Arthur Bestor of Illinois, Erling Hunt of Columbia, Francis Keppel of Harvard, Joseph Strayer of Princeton, Edgar Wesley of Stanford, and Agnes Meyer (our public representative) of Washington, D. C. This committee is now making recommendations concerning the improvement of teaching in the schools. If its plans materialize and have adequate monetary support, we may hope to offer positive suggestions for good history programs throughout the country.

In order that the Association may increasingly serve its members and the

institutions employing historians, it has established a job register at its Washington headquarters. This register is still in the process of becoming. The details have by no means been perfected. Established in April, 1954, it now contains the names of 145 men and women who were or are now seeking positions. It has received notices of vacancies from 34 institutions. In reply to our queries 42 applicants and institutions have replied that they heartily favor the register, and 9 applicants have told us that they have received inquiries as the result of information we gave institutions. Of the 34 institutions to which we sent information down to December 1, most have indicated they favor our system. There have been suggestions as to ways to improve our service but no opposition has appeared. But we should repeat that we are not a placement agency, that we do not recommend specific individuals, that we simply pass on to inquiring institutions information candidates have supplied us.

But there are other tasks to be accomplished as I suggested at the beginning. We need to know the vital statistics of our profession in order that we may meet not only our daily needs but future demands. We have, it must be bluntly put, only estimates and guesses concerning the number of teachers of history, the number of graduate students actively working for degrees, the number of historians in the various specialties, the level of salaries, and numerous like questions. We know that we are producing over 300 Ph.D.'s annually, many more than any of the social sciences. Is this too many? Will it be, in view of the coming great increase in enrollments? We do not know. We need a survey of our profession such as the A.C.L.S. has done for the Modern Language Association.

Again, we publish a great *Review*. How can we improve our articles and reviews so that the intelligent historian can best learn of studies outside his own specialty? We published in the *Review* this year eleven articles and six "Notes and Suggestions." And of the approximately 1,100 books we received we published 216 long reviews and 254 short. What we need are finely written articles with sweep, vision, perspective, articles which go beyond the bare bones, the details, and show the readers how the information presented fits into the field of history, how it adds to our knowledge and how it changes previous interpretations. What, in short, we need are essays that approach Turner's "Significance of the Frontier" of 1893, Becker's "Everyman His Own Historian" of 1932, or Kantorowicz' "*Pro Patria Mori* in Medieval Political Thought" of 1951. This is asking for utopia, I know. It is not asking too much.

We are making efforts in this direction. We have, from time to time this past year, asked for essays that we had heard had some of this vision and sweep. We have also succeeded in saving a little space in the *Review*, which has reached its physical limitations in size, by elimination of some duplication. We expect to be able to assign a few reviews of more wordage than we have been able heretofore. We have, to some degree, increased our coverage of foreign books and we have given a good deal of attention, insofar as fields of competence permit, to geographical factors in the choice of reviewers, to full coverage of books in American as

well as foreign history. We have, in addition, considerably extended our file of reviewers, usually with good results. A good number of young men have this past year been asked to review for us and the number will slowly grow in the future. We need now to improve our reviewing. We are suggesting, as it has been done in the past, that the reviewers cover briefly the content of a book, that they critically analyze the book in the light of the author's purpose and in the perspective of the field of its subject, and that finally they tell us, in varied ways, whether the book is worth reading and buying. We do not wish reviews that detail minor errors, especially those typographical in nature, unless these materially affect quality, nor do we wish reviewers to write their own digressive essays or indulge in any personal theses. Again we wish for utopia but it is not too high a goal at which to aim, especially if we wish to gain the public respect for our profession that it deserves.

All of this does not fully answer how we may popularize without vulgarizing. To this problem we must give more and more attention. We have firm foundations. It is for us to build wisely upon them. We can build best, at this juncture in history, by enabling others to enjoy the fruits of our labor. If we are to be free, we must educate our people for the privileges and responsibilities of freedom at an ever-increasing rate, with more attention to fundamentals, with ever greater emphasis on the meaning of what we discover. Recently, I read Justice Douglas' *Almanac of Liberty*. He has tapped the spring of history for liberty without propaganda or sensationalism. Here we too must venture without sacrificing truth, meticulous accuracy, or our minute and detailed studies. Can it be done? There are examples enough to prove that it can. Freedom is for us the basis and condition of thought and action. But we will have freedom only if we share with the people our habits of mind and the results of our researches.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HOTEL COMMODORE,
NEW YORK, DECEMBER 27, 1954, 10:00 A.M.

Present: Merle Curti, President; Lynn Thorndike, Vice-President; Solon J. Buck, Treasurer; Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary; Herbert Heaton, Edward C. Kirkland, Sidney Painter, Dexter Perkins, Richard H. Shryock, Joseph R. Strayer, Councilors; Guy Stanton Ford, former President.

President Curti called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the 1953 Council meeting were approved as published in the April, 1954, issue of the *Review* (pp. 809-16).

The Executive Secretary's report, having been duplicated and sent to members of the Council, was not read. The Executive Secretary commented upon it briefly.

The Treasurer, Dr. Buck, summarized the financial statement for the fiscal year 1953-54. He drew attention particularly to the investment of \$10,000, point-

ing out that receipts of unrestricted funds exceeded expenditures of such funds by \$11,999.52, compared to \$9,428.57 last year. This investment, it was understood, might be withdrawn if necessary for Association expenditures. The total assets of the Association on August 31, 1954, amounted to \$521,712.64, an increase of \$19,350.21. The increase resulted in part from exchanges in securities and changes in the market value of investments. Of the total assets, \$272,565.97 (including \$78,493.00 in the Matteson Fund) is restricted and \$249,146.67 is unrestricted. The Treasurer announced that, if the Board of Trustees approved, the Matteson Fund would be included in the General Account in the future. The report was approved with one minor change in phraseology made at the suggestion of the Treasurer and with approval of the excess payments for 1953-54 of \$77.64 for office expenses and \$176 for additional copies of the *Review* required by the membership.

The Treasurer, as chairman of the Finance Committee, then reported a draft budget for 1954-55 and 1955-56 for unrestricted funds. The Council approved the budget with the amendment that a slight error of \$10 be corrected if required and with the provision of \$20,000 instead of \$19,500 for 1954-55 and 1955-56 for copies of the *Review* to members. In the new budget, disbursements for the annual meeting are grouped under one heading, the dues to the American Council of Learned Societies are increased from \$100 to \$200 for each of the next two years without these sums being set as a precedent, salary adjustments for the assistant editor, the clerk-stenographer, and the clerical assistant are indicated, the estimates for contingent and miscellaneous expenses and for office expenses (additional mailing charges) are increased, and sums are allotted to pay transportation and partial expenses of two delegates to the International Congress of Historical Sciences to be held in Rome in September, 1955. The budget provides for investments of \$10,000 in each of the two years, and the Treasurer, at his suggestion, was directed to invest such sums from the checking and savings accounts of restricted funds as he and the Executive Secretary deem advisable.

The Executive Secretary reported for the Committee on Committees. Without exception the Council approved the recommended committees for 1955.

Committee on Committees.—Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Chester V. Easum, University of Wisconsin—term expires December, 1956; John D. Hicks, University of California, Berkeley—term expires December, 1955; Edward C. Kirkland, Bowdoin College—term expires December, 1956; Fletcher M. Green,* University of North Carolina, term expires December, 1957.

Committee on Honorary Members.—Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C., chairman; Hugh Borton, Columbia University; Felix Gilbert, Bryn Mawr College; Charles E. Odegaard, University of Michigan; Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Ralph E. Turner, Yale University.

* New member this year.

Committee on Historians and the Federal Government.—Wood Gray, George Washington University, chairman; Kent R. Greenfield, Washington, D. C.; Constance M. Green, Washington, D. C.; Jeannette P. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Richard A. Newhall, Williams College; Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester; Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio).

Committee on International Historical Activities.—Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C., chairman; Kent R. Greenfield, Washington, D. C.; Martin R. P. McGuire, Catholic University of America; Donald C. McKay, Harvard University (ex officio); Dorothy M. Quynn, Frederick, Md.; Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Alexandria, Va.; Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania.

Committee on Documentary Reproduction.—Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois, chairman; Cornelius W. de Kiewiet, University of Rochester, Austin P. Evans, Columbia University; Richard W. Hale, Jr., Wellesley College; Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina; Easton Rothwell, Stanford University; Robert B. Eckles,* Purdue University; Hilmar C. Krueger,* University of Cincinnati; Lawrence A. Harper, University of California; William R. Braisted,* University of Texas.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Francis Bowman, University of Southern California, chairman; Henry Hill,* University of Wisconsin; Henry R. Winkler, Rutgers University.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Sinclair W. Armstrong, Brown University, chairman; Charles F. Mullett, University of Missouri; Joseph J. Mathews,* Emory University.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.—John Tate Lanning, Duke University, chairman; Ralph W. Hidy, New York University; Kenneth M. Stamp, University of California; Alice Felt Tyler, University of Minnesota; Arthur Link,* Northwestern University.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.—Raymond P. Stearns, University of Illinois, chairman; Eugene N. Anderson, University of Nebraska; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Paul W. Gates, Cornell University; Fletcher M. Green, University of North Carolina.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Francis B. Simkins, Longwood College, chairman; Earl S. Pomeroy, University of Oregon.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Edward Dumbauld, Uniontown, Pa., chairman; Zechariah Chafee, Harvard University; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George L. Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Mark DeWolfe Howe, Harvard University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, Newark, New Jersey; Julius Goebel,* Columbia University; David J. Mays,* Richmond, Virginia.

Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.—John B. Brebner, Columbia

* New member this year.

University, chairman; George W. Brown, University of Toronto; Helen Taft Manning, Bryn Mawr College; Charles Mowat,* University of Chicago. *Committee on the Watumull Prize*.—Taraknath Das, Columbia University, chairman; Richard L. Park,* University of California; Robert I. Crane,* University of Chicago.

The Council approved the continuance in office, or the election of, the following delegates of the American Historical Association.—*American Council of Learned Societies*: Charles H. Taylor, Harvard University—term expires December, 1956. *International Committee of Historical Sciences*: Donald C. McKay, Harvard University—term expires December, 1955; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association—term expires 1960. *National Historical Publications Commission*: Julian P. Boyd, Princeton University—term expires December, 1956; Guy Stanton Ford, Washington, D. C.—term expires December, 1957. *National Records Management Council*: Thomas C. Cochran, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1955. *Social Education*: Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Fred Harrington, University of Wisconsin. *Social Science Research Council*: Gordon A. Craig, Princeton University—term expires December, 1955; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1956; Louis Gottschalk, University of Chicago—term expires December, 1957.

Professor Sidney Painter of the Johns Hopkins University, chairman of the Committee on Teaching, discussed the report of his committee, which proposed the establishment of a Historical Service Center. After considerable discussion this report was accepted with the added provision that a new permanent committee of seven to nine be established on the teaching of history, that this committee should co-operate with the Committee on Teaching of the American Council of Learned Societies and, with the aid of the Executive Secretary, should seek funds for a three-year experimental program of the Association.

Reporting on the condition of the Carnegie Revolving Fund, the Executive Secretary pointed out that at the end of the present year the fund will be down to about \$3000 and asked authority for the Committee and Executive Secretary to approach a foundation for an additional sum of \$50,000. This authority was granted. The Executive Secretary informed the Council of the desirability of a change of publisher for the volumes published under the terms of the Beveridge Award. The Executive Secretary and chairman of the Beveridge Committee were directed to select a new publisher. The Executive Secretary brought to the attention of the Council a request to the Beveridge Committee to permit a reprint of Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915*. The Council, believing such a reprinting desirable, authorized the Executive Secretary and chairman of the Beveridge Committee to make such arrangements as are necessary. In response to a request the Committee on International Relations was permitted to change its name to Committee on International Historical Activities. On motion the Executive Secretary was elected the second delegate of the Asso-

* New member this year.

ciation to the meeting of the International Congress of Historical Sciences in Rome in September, 1955. The Council discussed the various papers and reports to be given at Rome by Americans but took no action. The Executive Secretary was authorized to pay a suitable honorarium from the Matteson Fund to the compiler of the lists of United States diplomatic representatives for Volume III of the *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Lander*. The ad hoc committee on the *Guide to Historical Literature* was asked to continue, to obtain funds, and to arrange for compilation and publication. The Council authorized an appropriation of \$500 from the Matteson Fund for the expenses of this committee for 1955.

The Editor of the *Review* announced the appointment of Professor John Hicks of the University of California to the Board of Editors, to replace Professor Carl Bridenbaugh of the same institution. The Council recommended that members of the Board of Trustees be given subscriptions to the *Review*. The Council elected Professor Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago to replace Professor Ray Billington of Northwestern, whose term expired, as a delegate of the Association to the Social Science Research Council and Professor Fred Harrington of the University of Wisconsin as a representative of the Association on the board of *Social Education*, to replace Professor Robert E. Riegel of Dartmouth, whose term also expired.

The Council discussed at length the feasibility of a declaration of principles on the use of historical manuscripts but decided to table the matter. The question of the relationship of the Association to what have been mistakenly at times called "affiliated societies" received considerable attention. The Council voted that the whole question receive study, that the Executive Secretary report on the matter next year, and that the words "groups meeting jointly" be used for groups meeting with the Association at its annual meetings. The Council agreed that the annual dinner should be continued. It decided to take no further action concerning the allegations of the House of Representatives Committee on Tax Exempt Foundations. The Executive Secretary brought the subject of the Association's responsibilities in regard to the Harmsworth Professorship at Oxford to the Council's attention. The Council decided to authorize the Committee on Committees to appoint a committee of five to submit a panel of names directly to Oxford if the Association were requested to do so.

The Council recommended continuation of the job register and supported the personnel studies of historians being made by the A.C.L.S. It recommended that the Association adopt the following resolution of support for the National Historical Publications Commission:

Resolved: That the American Historical Association endorses the program set forth in the report of the National Historical Publications Commission entitled *A National Program for the Publication of Historical Documents* and urges full support of it by the Association's members and other interested individuals, by the Congress of the United States, by the appropriate authorities of state and local

governments, by the custodians of archives and manuscripts involved in the program, and by foundations and other organizations whose objectives include the increase and diffusion of knowledge of American history.

At the suggestion of the Executive Secretary, the Council endorsed the project for the creation of a bust of J. Franklin Jameson, to be placed in the National Archives and to be financed through voluntary contributions. The Executive Secretary announced that the next two annual meetings will be held in Washington, D. C., at the Mayflower Hotel, December 28-30, 1955, and at St. Louis, Missouri, at the Jefferson Hotel, December 28-30, 1956. The Council approved a hotel reservation in Chicago for 1959. For 1955 the Council approved the selection of Professor Oron J. Hale of the University of Virginia as program chairman and Dean Elmer L. Kayser of George Washington University as local arrangements chairman. The latter, it was understood, will try to make arrangements without the usual advance registration. It was the sense of the Council that the American Historical Association should endorse adequate support by the foundations for the general expenses of the American Council of Learned Societies.

Under the heading of new business the Council recommended that the request of the historians of education for a place on the annual program be referred to the program chairman and that it be suggested that they might form an informal group.

The President of the Association was authorized to appoint a committee on resolutions. He appointed Councilors Heaton, Kirkland, and Shryock.

The meeting adjourned at 6:00 p.m.

The Council met again on December 29 at 2:15 p.m. to elect Dexter Perkins, Edward C. Kirkland, Helen Taft Manning, and Sidney Painter to the Executive Committee for 1955. The Executive Secretary and the Treasurer are *ex officio* members.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HOTEL COMMODORE,
NEW YORK, DECEMBER 29, 1954, 4:15 P.M.

President Merle Curti called the meeting to order with about 175 members present. The minutes of the last meeting (*AHR*, April, 1954, pp. 816-19) were approved.

The Executive Secretary of the Association and Managing Editor of the *Review*, Dr. Boyd C. Shafer, read his annual report.

The Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck, presented a brief summary of his report, copies of which had been distributed to those attending the meeting. His report was accepted, placed on file, and will be printed in the *Annual Report* for 1954.

Upon nomination, Mr. Arthur Page of New York was elected to the Board of Trustees.

The chairman of the nominating committee for 1954, Professor Arthur Bestor

of the University of Illinois, reported the following nominations as a result of the mail ballot:

For the Presidency of the Association for the year 1955, Professor Lynn Thorn-dike of Columbia University; for the Vice-Presidency, Professor Dexter Perkins of Cornell University; and for the office of Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck of Wash-ington, D. C. Members of the Council, Professor Carl Bridenbaugh of the Univer-sity of California (Berkeley) and Professor Walter Dorn of the Ohio State Uni-versity. Members of the Nominating Committee, Professors Theodor Mommsen of Cornell University, W. C. Binkley of Tulane University, and James L. Cate of the University of Chicago.

On motion, the Executive Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for all the nominees, and they were declared elected. Professor Bestor announced that Professor Wesley Frank Craven of Princeton will serve as chairman of the Nomi-nating Committee in 1955, and he reported that the additional enclosure in the 1954 ballot to obtain suggestions from members for nominees had produced numerous nominations. The report of the Nominating Committee was accepted without dissent.

For the information of members of the Association the Executive Secretary reported upon the following actions of the Council: The report of the Committee on Committees together with specific indication of new committee members; the appointment of Professor John Hicks of the University of California to the Board of Editors; the election of Professor Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago as delegate to the Social Science Research Council, of Professor Fred Harrington of the University of Wisconsin as representative to *Social Education*, and of Boyd C. Shafer as delegate to the International Congress of Historical Sciences; the selection of the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, and the Jefferson Hotel in St. Louis as the places for the 1955 and 1956 meetings; the appointment as program chair-man for 1955 of Professor Oron Hale of the University of Virginia and of Dean Elmer Kayser of George Washington University as local arrangements chairman; the election of Dexter Perkins, Edward C. Kirkland, Helen Taft Manning, and Sidney Painter to the executive committee of the Council; the decision to use the words "meeting jointly with" instead of "affiliated" when referring to groups meeting with the Association; the continuation of the special committee for the *Guide to Historical Literature*; approval of voluntary contributions for a bust of J. Franklin Jameson to be placed in the National Archives; the recommendation that the job register be continued; the future appointment of a committee of five to recommend a panel of names, if requested, for the Harmsworth Professorship at Oxford University; the recommendation that the American Council of Learned Societies continue its personnel studies in the field of history.

For the Committee on Teaching, the chairman, Sidney Painter, summarized its recommendations, which the Council had endorsed, for the establishment of a Historical Service Center. It was pointed out that the Council had approved the

appointment, through the customary method, of a permanent committee on teaching.

Without discussion the Business Meeting approved (the second required time) an amendment to the Constitution giving free membership to those who have held membership in the Association for fifty years; it adopted a resolution supporting the American Council of Learned Societies in its request for foundation aid for its general expenses, and a resolution supporting the work of the National Historical Publications Commission.

Professor Robert Kerner of the University of California presented the annual report of the Pacific Coast Branch of the Association (to be printed in the *Annual Report* for 1954).

The closing resolution was given by Professor Richard Shryock. It read: Resolved: That the thanks of the Association be tendered to Professor Richard P. McCormick and his fellow members of the Program Committee for the quality and the variety of the offerings they provided; and that the thanks of the Association also be tendered to Professor Bayrd Still and his colleagues on the Committee on Local Arrangements and to all the voluntary workers for their planning, patience, and success in making the arrangements for this meeting.

In accordance with tradition, Professor Frank Maloy Anderson moved adjournment.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

American Historical Association

The 1955 annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C., December 28-30. Oron J. Hale of the University of Virginia is the program chairman, and Dean Elmer L. Kayser of the George Washington University is in charge of local arrangements.

Professor Wesley Frank Craven, Department of History, Princeton University, is chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1955. He will welcome suggestions from members for the offices of Vice-President, two Council members, and two members of the Nominating Committee.

Several teaching members of the Association regularly announce to their advanced classes that student memberships in the Association are available at \$4.00 annually. Last year fourteen students of one professor and eleven of another applied for membership.

From April 1 to February 1, the first ten months of the Association's job register, over 225 historians listed themselves as seeking positions. Many of these were already employed. The Association was informed of about forty positions and sent the names of qualified registrants to the inquiring institutions. By the time this issue of the *Review* appears, over 700 department chairmen will have received postcards reminding them of the existence of this service. It is hoped that

they will pass this information on to those interested and that they will notify the Association of any vacancies in their departments.

Other Historical Activities

The Library of Congress has received some 4,500 papers of members of the Hale and Everett families of Massachusetts, a gift from Mr. Albert E. Lownes. The two families were related by the marriage of Nathan Hale, nephew of the Revolutionary War hero, and Susan Everett, in 1816. The largest group in the collection is composed of papers of Nathan Hale (1784-1863). Papers of his son, Edward Everett Hale, date from 1850 to 1900, with most of the correspondence concentrated in the last two decades of this period. The collection also includes a series of letters (1815-40) written by Alexander Hill Everett to his brother, Edward Everett, letters full of information about European and American literary figures and their work.

Mrs. Kermit Roosevelt and Mrs. Merwyn Herbert, daughters of Joseph E. Willard (1865-1924), have presented approximately 25,000 papers of their father and of other members of the Willard family, covering the period from about 1851 to 1924. The early material includes letters of Joseph C. Willard and his brothers, a small amount of diary material for 1862 and later years, and financial papers relating to various business ventures in the District of Columbia in which the Willard brothers engaged. The Joseph E. Willard papers reflect most of his public career: his service in the Virginia House of Delegates (1894-1902), his Spanish-American War service on the staff of Maj. Gen. Fitzhugh Lee in Cuba, and his further service in Virginia as lieutenant-governor and state corporation commissioner. Material for the years during which he was American ambassador to Spain, under President Wilson, includes an extensive personal and diplomatic correspondence.

The papers of the late Kermit Roosevelt have been presented to the Library as a gift from Mrs. Roosevelt. Numbering about 25,000 pieces and covering the period from 1920 to 1938, the papers deal mainly with the operation of steamship lines. Less in bulk, but no less interesting, is Roosevelt's personal correspondence, including letters from his brother, Theodore, Jr., while he was governor of Puerto Rico and, later, governor general of the Philippine Islands.

A substantial collection of papers of U. S. Senator Key Pittman of Nevada have come to the Library as a bequest of Mrs. Pittman. There are letters and other papers which go back into the period of Pittman's residence in Alaska, 1897-1901, and correspondence relating to his candidacy for and election to the Senate, in which he remained for nearly thirty years. From 1933 to 1940 he served as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and as president pro tempore of the Senate. Copies of many, if not all, of his speeches have been preserved, as have photographs and scattered biographical notes. When the papers have been organized, they will be available for study in the Library's Manuscripts Division.

The papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt as governor of New York, 1929-1932, have been deposited by the State Library at Albany on a permanent loan at Hyde Park. The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library will supply microfilm of these papers when requested.

The Committee on Documentary Reproduction of the American Historical Association announces its sponsorship of a project to microprint every existent book, pamphlet, and broadside printed in the United States from 1639 to 1800 (inclusive). The project originated with the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, and is under the editorial direction of Dr. Clifford K. Shipton, Librarian. The imprints will be microprinted in the numerical order established in the Evans bibliography and its supplements (Charles Evans, ed., *American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary of all Books, Pamphlets, and Periodical Publications Printed in the United States of America from the Genesis of Printing in 1639 down to and including the Year 1820*). The items in the microprint edition will be edited for title identification, author, imprint and text, and at last will bring together authoritatively the thousands of corrections in the original volumes of Evans, including the exposing of the thousands of the "ghost titles" or editions which never in reality existed, but which arose from errors in other bibliographies or from misunderstanding of advertisements. The project will extend over a period of ten years at a cost to each subscriber of \$750.00 a year, total cost not to exceed \$7,500.00. For the first time, these major sources for the study of early American history will become available at a very low cost.

The Historical Division of the Department of State reports considerable progress during the last year in the publication of the series "Foreign Relations of the United States" and "Documents on German Foreign Policy." Eleven volumes in the first series have appeared during the year: five each for the years 1936 and 1937, and a volume on the Far East for 1938. Special priority is being given to the volumes on the World War II conferences of heads of government, and on China for 1942-1950. Several of the conference volumes are expected to be published in the coming year. The volumes on China are scheduled to follow the publication of the Far East volumes through 1941. Series D, Volume VIII, covering the period September 4, 1939-March 18, 1940, of the "Documents on German Foreign Policy," has appeared this year, and Volumes VI and VII, covering March to September, 1939, are in press in both the German and English editions. The English editions of Volumes IX and X, March-October, 1940, are ready for the printer. The Department of State welcomes the continuing helpful interest of the historical profession in meeting the problems attendant upon the publication of these two series.

The National Historical Publications Commission has published *A National Program for the Publication of Historical Documents* (Government Printing Office, 1954, 50 cents). This reviews past publications of historical nature by the

federal government and proposes an ambitious and needed program for the future. What it envisions is not only publication of documents "about our political and military history but also about our economic, social, and intellectual development." Listed are 361 leaders whose papers should be published and various collections of documents including those of the Continental Congress. The excellent list of published historical documents appended is a useful guide for students, but the mass yet to be published is tremendous.

The Historical Division of the Office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany has issued a *Guide to Studies*. In three years, 1950-53, it has prepared more than thirty separate monographs covering "almost every phase of U. S. post-war interest in Germany." This *Guide*, edited by Guy A. Lee, covers the "end-products" to June 30, 1953.

The National Archives has recently issued four more "Preliminary Inventories": No. 72, *Records of the Wage Adjustment Board*, compiled by Leonard Rapport; No. 73, *Cartographic Records of the United States Marine Corps*, compiled by Charlotte M. Ashby; No. 74, *Records of the Joint Congressional Aviation Policy Board, 1947-48*, compiled by Watson G. Caudill and George P. Perros; and No. 75, *Records of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce: Subcommittee to Investigate Interstate Railroads, 1935-43*, compiled by Albert U. Blair and John W. Porter.

Under the sponsorship of the American Council of Learned Societies and financed by grants from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York, Volume XXII (the second supplemental volume) of the *Dictionary of American Biography* is being prepared. It will include biographies of persons deceased between January 1, 1936, and December 31, 1940. Robert L. Schuyler, professor emeritus of history in Columbia University, is the editor.

The first of a new series of volumes of *American Heritage* appeared on December 1, 1954. Bound in hard covers, a "periodical in book form," it will be published six times a year. Bruce Catton, Pulitzer Prize winner, is the editor.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held its annual meeting December 27-29 at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles. Papers read at eighteen sessions and two luncheon meetings covered a variety of subjects from medieval through recent history. The following awards were granted for 1954: American history: Thomas J. Pressly, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (Princeton University Press, 1954); European history: Kenneth Pratt, *The Controversy between the Regular and Secular Clergy at the University of Paris in the Thirteenth Century*; Pacific history: William S. Greever, *Arid Domain: The Santa Fe Railway and Its Western Land Grant* (Stanford University Press, 1954); Louis Knott Koontz Memorial Award: William Mulder, "Mormons from Scandinavia, 1850-1900: A Shepherded Migration," *Pacific His-*

torical Review, August, 1954, pp. 227-46. Officers elected for the coming year are: John D. Hicks, University of California, president; Peter M. Dunne, S.J., University of San Francisco, vice-president; John A. Schutz, Whittier College, secretary-treasurer; John W. Caughey, University of California, Los Angeles, managing editor of the *Pacific Historical Review*; Donald W. Rowland, University of Southern California, Leland Creer, University of Utah, and Herbert J. Wood, Washington State College, councilors. The 1955 annual meeting will be held at the University of California, Berkeley. Theodore Treutlein, San Francisco State College, is the program chairman and Walton Bean, University of California, Berkeley, the chairman of local arrangements.

The Société d'histoire de la Révolution française met at the Sorbonne in November, 1954, to elect a new president to succeed the late Professor Philippe Sagnac. Georges Bourgin and B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch were elected joint presidents. The second number of the new series of the *Cahiers d'histoire de la Révolution française* (see *AHR*, January, 1954, pp. 501-502) will be devoted to the work of Professor Sagnac.

The autumn meeting of the Conference on British Studies was held on Saturday, November 13, 1954, at the New York University Faculty Club. Professor H. L. Beales of the University of London read a paper entitled "The Genesis of Civil Service Reform, 1854."

The Midwest Conference on British Historical Studies was formed at a conference held at the University of Chicago on November 13, 1954. The conference will meet in Chicago once a year, for two days, the first meeting to be held in November, 1955. The officers are: chairman, Herbert Heaton, University of Minnesota; secretary, C. L. Mowat, University of Chicago; program committee, Richard Glover, University of Manitoba, W. B. Willcox, University of Michigan, G. L. Mosse, State University of Iowa, R. B. Eckles, Purdue University. All persons interested in belonging to the Conference are invited to send their names, and those of colleagues who might be interested, to C. L. Mowat, University of Chicago.

The first Renaissance Conference of the central states area, Missouri and adjoining states, will be held at the University of Missouri, May 13-14, 1955. Inquiries may be addressed to Lewis W. Spitz, Department of History, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

The (British) Joint Committee of Greek and Roman Societies (Hellenic Society, Roman Society, Classical Association, British School at Athens, British School at Rome) has issued a preliminary notice of a meeting to be held in Oxford, August 4-11, 1955. Among the lecturers will be A. H. M. Jones on the "Unimportance of Trade and Industry in the Roman Empire"; A. N. Sherwin-White on the "First Phases in the Populares-movement"; and J. B. Ward-Perkins on "Con-

stantinople as the New Rome." A detailed program of the meeting will be issued in the spring. Those who are not members of any of the participating societies may obtain programs by applying to the secretary of the Committee, Miss Louise B. Turner, Bayston, Cross Oak Road, Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire, England.

The Charles Austin Beard Memorial Prize for 1954 has been awarded to Clinton Rossiter, professor of government in Cornell University, for his manuscript "Conservatism in America." The Beard Prize, inaugurated by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., in 1951, is offered in even years for a work in political science and in odd years for a work in American history. Professor Rossiter is the first recipient of the prize.

Philip Hughes has been awarded the John Gilmary Shea Prize of the American Catholic History Association for his three-volume *The Reformation in England* (Macmillan, 1951-54).

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

Frank Freidel, associate professor of history in Stanford University, has accepted appointment to the Harmsworth Professorship of History at Oxford University for the academic year 1955-56.

W. Grafton Neally has been appointed professor of history and government in Adelphi College.

Henry B. Parkes has been appointed visiting professor of history and acting chairman of the department of American civilization in Barnard College.

Stephen B. Barnwell has been appointed instructor in history in Carleton College.

In the fall of 1955 Eric McKittrick and Stanley Elkins will join the staff of the department of history in the University of Chicago as assistant professors. William McNeill, formerly of the college of the University of Chicago, will join the department of history as professor of European diplomatic history.

John J. Murray has been appointed professor of history in Coe College.

Erving E. Beauregard has been promoted to associate professor of history in the University of Dayton.

Robert H. Woody has been appointed director of graduate studies in the department of history of Duke University.

¹In the interests of saving space, the *Review's* policy is not to print personals concerning summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations. The *Review* will continue to print news of appointments, promotions, and retirements.

Erwin F. Karner has been appointed assistant professor of history in East Tennessee State College.

Winston Babb has been promoted to associate professor of history in Furman University, Greenville, S. C.

Paul H. Buck, professor of history in Harvard University and formerly dean of the faculty and provost of the university, will assume duties next summer as librarian, Harvard College, and director, Harvard University Library. Professor Buck succeeds Keyes D. Metcalf, who is retiring.

The University of Houston announces the appointments of Edwin A. Miles and Richard D. Younger as assistant professors of history and Robert L. Ganyard and Ronald Drew as instructors.

H. Hale Bellot, who has held the Commonwealth Fund Chair of American History in the University of London since 1930, retires at the close of the current session. His successor is H. C. Allen, Fellow and Senior Tutor of Lincoln College, Oxford, who will take up his duties in October.

Esson M. Gale, who has retired from the directorship of the International Center at the University of Michigan, where he has also served at various times on the history and political science faculties, is completing the English version of the late Henri Maspéro's *La Chine antique*.

Philip Morrison Rice has been promoted to associate professor of history and political science at North Carolina State College, Raleigh.

Jordan E. Kurland has been appointed instructor in history in the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

The Rev. James P. Gibbons, C.S.C., has been appointed associate professor of history in the University of Notre Dame.

The department of history of the Pennsylvania State University announces the promotions of Joseph Dahmus, Kent Forster, and Joseph Rayback to professors of history, John DeNovo to associate professor, and Robert Green to assistant professor.

Harvey A. DeWeerd, formerly of the University of Missouri, has joined the staff of the Rand Corporation at its Santa Monica office.

Susie M. Ames has been promoted to professor of history in Randolph-Macon Woman's College.

Mrs. Kathryn Turner has been appointed instructor in history at Rockford College.

Robert Van Niel has been appointed instructor in history in Russell Sage College.

Philip Africa has been appointed chairman of the department of history in Salem College, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, succeeding C. Gregg Singer, who has resigned.

Russell E. Planck, assistant professor of history in Seton Hall University, has been named chairman of the committee on graduate studies of the department of social studies.

J. Jean Hecht has been appointed assistant professor of history in Smith College.

Dorothy Churchill Barck, formerly librarian of the New-York Historical Society, has accepted appointment as historic site superintendent at Washington's Headquarters and Museum, Newburgh, New York.

Robert L. Johnson, Jr., has been appointed instructor in European history in West Virginia University.

Helmuth H. Haeussler has been appointed instructor in history in Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio.

Hajo Holborn of Yale University will be Fulbright Professor of Political History in the University of Vienna during the coming summer.

RECENT DEATHS

Charlotte Touzalin Muret, an associate of the department of history in Barnard College for eighteen years until her retirement in 1953, died November 25 in Lausanne, Switzerland, at the age of sixty-five. Born in Colorado Springs, Mme. Muret was graduated from Colorado College. She went on to Columbia University, where she took a Ph.D. degree in modern European history. Her dissertation, published in 1934, was *The French Royalist Doctrine since the Revolution*. She contributed many articles and reviews to a variety of journals and collaborated with Denis de Rougemont in a study of Switzerland, *The Heart of Europe* (1941). In the interwar years she lectured widely on European affairs, and during World War II her New York home was a gathering place for many scholars and statesmen.

Ferdinand Schevill, professor emeritus of history at the University of Chicago, died in Tucson December 10, 1954, aged eighty six. He graduated from Yale in 1889 and received his Ph.D. from Freiburg in 1892. He was a junior member of the distinguished faculty gathered by President Harper when the new University of Chicago opened in October, 1892. Schevill thus became one of the Americans who were bringing the scholarly traditions of the European universities to the United States, at a time when few American universities except Johns Hopkins were giving rigorous graduate discipline. Presently he was helping to make the history department at Chicago an outstanding training school for scholars and teachers.

In 1896, with Oliver Thatcher, he published *Europe in the Middle Ages*, widely used as a text. In 1899 appeared his *A Political History of Modern Europe from the Reformation to the Present Day*. Constantly revised and rewritten to include more economic and cultural material and renamed *A History of Europe from 1500*, the volume became one of the most popular undergraduate texts.

Schevill's interest in and sympathetic understanding of Renaissance Italy was revealed in his *Siena* (1909). His *Making of Modern Germany* in 1916 contributed to a more dispassionate understanding of the background of the First World War. His humanistic interest appeared again in his brief biography of his brother-in-law Karl Bitter, the sculptor (1917). There followed his timely *History of the Balkan Peninsula* (1922, revised 1933).

After retiring in 1924 he returned to the campus in 1930 to organize and head the general course in the humanities in the new Chicago College program. After retiring again in 1935 he completed his *History of Florence* (1936), probably his most important work. In 1947 was published his *Great Elector*, and in 1949 his final book, *The Medici*. In 1948 he was an exchange lecturer at Frankfurt.

His historical output was significant and widely useful, but his many students and friends remember him most affectionately as a vivid, many-sided, and truly humane personality.

Charles L. Sherman, professor of history and political science at Amherst College, died December 22 at the age of sixty. He received the A.B. in 1917 and the Ph.D. in 1928 from Harvard University. After teaching Greek and Latin at Ohio Wesleyan, 1920-1922, and at Harvard, 1923-1929, Dr. Sherman went to Amherst in 1929 as associate professor of Latin. In 1933 he shifted to the department of political science, and in 1940 was named professor of history and political science. His published writings are in the history of political thought.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

David Dowd has indicated to me that the reference to his *Pageant Master of the Republic* on page 25 of my article "Iconoclasm during the French Revolution" (*AHR*, October, 1954) gives a misleading impression of his position on "revolutionary vandalism." Although we differ somewhat in our interpretation of this subject, we have found that we are closer together than my reference would seem to show. Those interested in a fuller exposition of Professor Dowd's interpretation are invited to read pages 78-93 in his book.

Michigan State College

STANLEY J. IDZERDA

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The reviewer of the book *German History: Some New German Views*, edited by H. Kohn, in your October issue writes: "In trying to shift the responsibility

for modern mass movements and therefore for Hitler to the West . . . Gerhard Ritter is extremely vulnerable." I never and in no way tried to shift the responsibility for Hitler to the West. Furthermore it is surprising for me to learn from this review that Meinecke, Schnabel, Hofer and other revisionist German historians regard me "as their principal opponent." Meinecke and I were the first ones after the great catastrophe of 1945 who began to revise the traditional picture of German history—in nearly total agreement, political and personal. Who has misunderstood so totally the real German situation: the reviewer or the editor of the book?

Freiburg im Breisgau

GERHARD RITTER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Ritter's *cri du coeur* notwithstanding, I find no reason in his *Die Dämonie der Macht* and *Europa und die Deutsche Frage* to disagree with Kohn's view that Ritter attributes National Socialism (and therefore Hitler) essentially to the influence of Western nationalist ideas and to the spirit of mass democracy which derived from the French Revolution (and the Industrial Revolution). This is also J. A. Rantzau's conclusion in "The Glorification of the State in German Historical Writing," which Kohn reprints in translation from *Die Sammlung*, May, 1950. Rantzau's extensive critique is proof enough that German "revisionist" historians do, in fact, regard Ritter as their principal opponent. I did not, of course, single out Meinecke, Schnabel, and Hofer in this connection.

Duke University

E. MALCOLM CARROLL

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The reviewer of *The Dutch Colonial System* (AHR, October, 1954, p. 112) simply disregards the true nature of my book. He deplores that I have followed a chronological approach, though it should have been apparent to any instructed reader that my book is a historical or rather an economic historical one, the object being to *explain* as far as possible the historical development. For this purpose, the book gives an introductory analysis of the forms of cultivation, especially new as far as shifting cultivation is concerned. On this basis an interpretation is given of the historical development which throws new light e.g. on the well-known tribute device, the Culture System. The book, moreover, does not restrict itself to the colonies but tries to elucidate the interrelationships in economic policy and development of motherland *and* colonies. All this is simply disregarded by the reviewer who narrows the range of his review to those subjects which he has occupied himself. Being a reviewer myself, I have an understanding for this thankless work and I am the last to complain of criticism. Neither do I expect the reviewer to share my views, which I still maintain, but I feel it incumbent upon a reviewer to give the readers a true picture of the book in question.

The Hague, Holland

J. J. VAN KLAVEREN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

That Mr. van Klaveren's book is an economic historical study is clear from the first paragraph of my review. I reiterate that the basic problems of colonial

Indonesian economy do not receive the complete attention which they require in such a study. The analysis of new forms of cultivation, especially of the shifting cultivation and of the Culture System, is not new in any manner or form. The last word about these systems has been said by Professor J. H. Boeke of Leyden, to whose publications Dr. van Klaveren is referred.

Michigan State College

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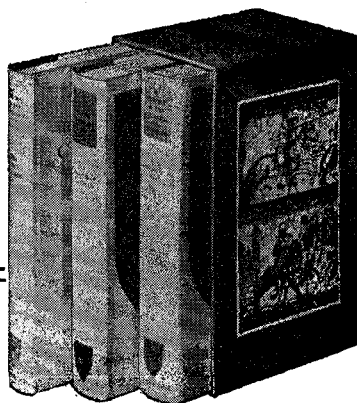
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